

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XX

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KENNETH L. M. PRAY

President of the National Conference of Social Work, 1946

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE TEMPORARY SOCIAL COMMISSION AND ITS REPORT TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

ALICE C. SHAFFER

THE Economic and Social Council of the United Nations during its second session received the report and reviewed the work of the Temporary Social Commission and, in accordance with its recommendations, adopted a resolution establishing a permanent Social Commission.¹

The Council, meeting at Hunter College, New York, from May 25 to June 22, 1946, defined the terms of reference of the Social Commission as follows:

- a) To advise the Council on social questions of a general character, and in particular on all matters in the social field not covered by specialized inter-governmental agencies;
- b) To advise the Council on practical measures that may be needed in the social field;
- c) To advise the Council on measures needed for the co-ordination of activities in the social field;
- d) To advise the Council on such international agreements and conventions on any of these matters as may be required, and on their execution;
- e) To report to the Council on the extent to which the recommendations of the United Nations in the field of social policy are being carried out.²

¹ *Journal of the Economic and Social Council* No. 25, Thursday, June 13, 1946.

² United Nations, Economic and Social Council, E/78/Rev. 1, June 20, 1946.

In its third session, scheduled to open August 26, 1946, the Economic and Social Council will select eighteen members of the United Nations, each of which will have one representative on the Social Commission. When this Social Commission meets, it will have referred to it the observations and recommendations outlined in the Report of the Temporary Social Commission, whose nuclear group of eight members met at Hunter College, New York, from April 29 to May 17, 1946.

Members of the Temporary Social Commission were A. J. Argyropoulos (Greece), S. W. Harris (United Kingdom), Henry Hauck (France), Frantisek Kraus (Czechoslovakia), Gerardo Molina (Colombia), Manuel Seoane (Peru), Rainero Guerra y Sanchez (Cuba), and Mrs. Krista Djordjevic (Yugoslavia). At its first meeting Mr. Hauck was elected chairman, Mr. Harris, vice-chairman, and Mr. Kraus, rapporteur. Miss Katherine Lenroot acted as secretary of the commission.

As the commission noted, from its terms of reference, that it was "to make a general review of international organization in the social field and of problems

not dealt with by existing organizations," it found itself without guidance as to the sense in which the term "social" was used. The Report of the Preparatory Commission had stated that the term "social" embraces a wide variety of topics. Since the expression "social field" might give rise to different interpretation, the commission sought to clarify the meaning of this term in order better to define its field of activity and at the same time to "set the frame for the fundamental principle on which a democratic social policy should be based."

The commission recognized that under contemporary conditions the community must play an intimate part in securing an adequate standard of living for all and that social policy has become an integral part of public administration. This, they concluded, did not mean that there is no longer room for voluntary effort; but, on the contrary, the commission acknowledged the essential contribution which voluntary agencies still have to make provided that they accept democratic principles of social policy.

Emphasis was placed on the fact that social work was likely to be limited to special categories of the community such as persons physically or socially handicapped. This, the commission felt, "has become too narrow a field for the development of an effective social policy."

In attempting to define social policy under conditions of contemporary society together with its object and scope, the commission concluded that

social policy must be intimately concerned with the life of the whole community and not only with particular sections of it, and that its object should be to ensure to all a satisfactory basis of living. In other words, the essential element of social policy is the standard of living. The standard to be attained is the well-being of all members of the community so as to enable each one to develop his personality, in accordance

with the needs of the community, and at the same time to enjoy, from youth to old age, as full a life as may be possible.

Throughout its deliberations the commission stressed the interdependence of social and economic policy, and more than once attention was called to the recognition of this principle as expressed by President Roosevelt when he said: "In national as in international affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself; it is merely a means for achieving social objectives."

The constant need for co-ordination of social and economic policy cannot be achieved by isolated individuals; experience shows that the collective effort of the whole community is needed. "At least half of the peoples of the world are living, by no fault of their own, under such poor and inadequate conditions that they cannot, out of their own scanty resources, achieve decent standards of living. . . . International co-operation in pursuance of social and economic policy, is essential to the attainment of an international order based on peace and social justice." As the prime minister of the United Kingdom stated at the opening session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, "without social justice and security there is no real foundation for peace, for it is among the socially disinherited and those who have nothing to lose that the gangster and aggressor recruit their supporters."

The commission further noted that a rise in the material standard of living does not suffice. Participation by those interested in the development of social policy was another general principle which it recognized.

After attempting to enumerate the various factors that together make up an adequate standard of living by listing common human needs as well as social

services for special groups and social policy for special regions, the commission reviewed these to determine to what extent these subjects were already dealt with by existing international organizations in the social field "with a view to making recommendations to the Council at an early date regarding the structure of commissions and sub-commissions and possibly new specialized agencies which it appears desirable to maintain or establish."

The Temporary Social Commission had extended invitations to the International Labor Organization; the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, inviting them to participate in the work of the commission.

The interests of the various organizations were reviewed, and by this process it was indicated that the following subjects are especially within the province of social welfare and that some provision for them should be made by the permanent Social Commission:

1. Measures for helping the individual (and the family), when necessary, to make use of or have access to the opportunities and resources available for satisfying his needs; administration of social assistance.
2. Care, protection, and service for special groups (children, the aged, the handicapped, etc.).
3. Social services, as part of the application of general social policy in special regions (underdeveloped areas and countries directly affected by war).

The Temporary Social Commission pointed out that work in connection with

these problems would include the collection and dissemination of information, research and field studies, and advisory service and would extend also, beyond research and propaganda, to include practical help. Other functions recognized included the calling of conferences on special subjects, the development of principles or standards, and the drafting of conventions, seeing that they are negotiated and keeping informed concerning their implementation.

The means by which such functions could be carried out were not considered fully by the Temporary Social Commission. While it recognized that there might be some justification for creating a specialized social welfare agency, as has been done in other fields, the commission reached the conclusion that this work should be brought within the frame of the Economic and Social Council.

The resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council establishing a permanent Social Commission calls attention to the observations concerning provision needed in the social welfare field and refers these matters to the Social Commission for early study and recommendation to the Economic and Social Council.

When the permanent Social Commission considers this phase of the work, it will have to decide whether it should carry on the activities needing to be provided for in the social welfare field, utilizing subcommissions in certain fields such as child welfare, or whether it should recommend the development under its general jurisdiction of a social welfare subcommission broadly concerned with these problems or a subsidiary organ established by the Assembly, as authorized in the United Nations Charter.

The Temporary Social Commission, in

accordance with its terms of reference, was to report to the Economic and Social Council on the advisability of bringing under the Council the activities in the social field previously carried on by the League of Nations, and such other activities as the work on the treatment of offenders now carried on by the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. It was also charged with assuming, on an interim basis, pending the establishment of permanent machinery, the work of the League of Nations on such social questions as the traffic in women and children and child welfare.

After reviewing the work of the Temporary Social Commission on the foregoing matters, the Economic and Social Council referred this question to the permanent Social Commission with the request that, in the light of prevailing conditions in the postwar world,

1. it consider the best way of carrying on the functions undertaken by the League with reference to traffic in women and children and all measures designed to prevent such traffic;
2. it consider how work in the child welfare field can be effectively carried out, in co-operation with those international organizations which are concerned with particular aspects of these problems, and take steps to create a subcommission especially constituted for work in the child welfare field;
3. it consider how effective machinery can be developed for studying on a wide international basis the means for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, undertake consultation with the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, and recommend a scheme by which work on this whole subject can be

fruitfully dealt with on a broad international basis in close association with other social problems.

In carrying out the fourth and last function as stated in its terms of reference, the Temporary Social Commission considered substantive problems in the social field requiring immediate attention. One of the most urgent matters was that of finding some way of dealing with the important aspects of the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration after it is brought to a close.

Members of the commission spoke from firsthand experience when they presented the social problems in countries directly affected by the war or under enemy occupation and the conditions in countries which are underdeveloped. The Social Commission will be asked to consider these matters and the desirability of setting up international machinery in the fields of housing and of town and country planning.

The Temporary Social Commission, in its comprehensive study, has made a significant contribution looking toward international co-operation in the social field. It likewise has recognized the relationship of its work to that of the other commissions of the Economic and Social Council and to the activities of specialized agencies that participated in the work of the commission.

By the United Nations Charter we have undertaken to employ "international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancements of all peoples." The Temporary Social Commission has taken the first step of surveying the grounds and of outlining both the immediate and the more long-time needs in the social field. Its plans and recommendations have now been referred to

the permanent Social Commission, which will act in an advisory capacity to the Economic and Social Council.

The work of the Council, one of the principal organs of the United Nations, will be of special concern and interest to all who are working toward the improvement of economic and social conditions.

No one in the field of social welfare, where there has been such a wealth of ex-

perience in working with individuals, can fail to sense the significance of the first paragraph of the preamble of the United Nations Charter in which the United Nations affirm their faith in "the dignity and worth of the human person," nor dare we fail to assume our full responsibility in working toward the realization of this faith.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

EMERGENCY RELIEF NEEDS AND MEASURES IN CHINA

DONALD S. HOWARD

CHINA's relief and rehabilitation program is much in the news as this article goes to press. By the time it appears in print conditions already may be more or less under control—or may have deteriorated.

Evidences of what is brewing on the relief front in China may be seen in almost any current newspaper. It is charged that luxury foods are available to those who can pay the price, while masses go without even the coarsest essentials. Speculation, black-marketeering, and hoarding are said to be rife. Goods are reported to be bulging Shanghai godowns or warehouses, while needy areas call in vain for supplies which never come. Differences of opinion over the administrative setup distributing relief goods in China are said to be wrecking the program.

Only the merest trickle of supplies is reported to be sent into Communist territories. Although these areas are alleged to include some ninety million people—perhaps 20 per cent of China's population—the relief supplies sent to them probably do not exceed 1 per cent of all those delivered to China. This failure to avoid discrimination against these areas is the more disappointing because China, as an integral part of the U.N.R.R.A. Council and organization, has emphatically indorsed the cardinal U.N.R.R.A. principle that in the distribution of U.N.R.R.A. supplies there should be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or political belief. In fact, the most heartening experiences which the writer enjoyed in China included visits with Mao

Tze-tung and Chou En-lai to discuss possibilities of getting relief to Communist areas; more detailed discussion with lesser Communist officers; and, finally, conferences between local Communist representatives and Nationalist army officers to plan means of getting relief supplies into a specific Communist area. There was, for example, a Sunday morning meeting in Tsingtao attended by officers of both U.N.R.R.A. and the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (C.N.R.R.A.), by the local commanding general of the Nationalist army, and by two representatives of the Communist government of Shantung flown into Tsingtao by the United States Marines at U.N.R.R.A.'s request. The question in point was the opening of the road from Tsingtao into Communist areas. It was indeed an exhilarating experience to participate in discussions in which representatives of two opposite factions (which, not many miles away, were in more or less open conflict) agreed: (a) that the road *would* be opened and (b) that they would set off the next morning to decide, on the spot, which faction would repair which section of the broken road.

During this discussion the writer recalled to the Nationalist general that one way in which a principle can be sabotaged is to appear to agree to it but then to interpose first one plausible obstacle and then another to its execution. Emphasis was laid, therefore, upon the importance of leaning over backward to overcome, wherever possible, the very real difficulties confronted by the con-

feres lest failure, even in the face of practically insurmountable obstacles, be interpreted as intent to vitiate the principle of administering relief without discrimination. Fortunately, in the particular instance described—as in other specific cases also—small shipments of supplies were actually sent into Communist territory. However, these districts by and large have not received anything like their fair share of needed relief goods despite continuing and persistent pressure from U.N.R.R.A. officers, who are determined that relief in China shall indeed be administered in accord with U.N.R.R.A. principles.

Just how much longer U.N.R.R.A. should continue to send to China relief supplies which are divided inequitably between Nationalist and Communist areas will be difficult to decide. There is, of course, always the cruel possibility of cutting off further relief in order to enforce adherence to principle. But, as in the case of the F.E.R.A.'s shutting off emergency relief to offending states in this country, this cure is too potent to be applied except under the most extreme circumstances. Having said this, it must, in fairness to the Chinese government, be said that distribution of supplies to Communist areas is fraught with very real problems of transportation and distribution which are more than normally difficult—even to China. A certain degree of maldistribution as between Nationalist and Communist territories, therefore, might be excusable. What is not excusable is the gross inequity of the allocations to date.

That hoarding and speculation in and around Shanghai, where most of the abuses are said to be centered, are at last a concern to the Nationalist government is evidenced by the replacement of the previous mayor by a new appointee, who

appears to have instructions to clean up racketeering in food which unnumbered Chinese need for survival. Whether this action will prove sufficient or whether offenders will be found also at higher levels in the government, only time can tell. Meanwhile, the remedy advocated by incensed readers of news stories about speculation—the curtailment of further relief imports—would only worsen the situation. Scarcity is the mother of profiteering. A better course would be to increase the flow of commodities so that racketeering would become less lucrative.

Fully to understand China's present predicament one must know that the pitifully small volume of foodstuffs contributed to China by U.N.R.R.A. is incapable of affecting market prices perceptibly. Furthermore, one must recall that the government's aim during at least the earlier days of the C.N.R.R.A. program was to maintain but not to break the then current food-price levels. The economic theory behind this policy was that the relatively high prices prevailing, say in November and December of 1945, would directly benefit food producers who not only constituted some 80 per cent of China's total population but who have also suffered, traditionally, an unduly low standard of living. It was for this reason that early food sales by C.N.R.R.A. were at prices only 5 to 10 per cent below market prices rather than at levels calculated to wreck the existing price structure. Wages of laborers and workers were said by government spokesmen to have kept pace fairly well with rising costs. The classes most harmed by the high prices were teachers, professors, government officials, and other salaried workers. Since by far the largest proportion of these were in government service, it was thought that it would be relatively

easy through a sharp upward adjustment of governmental salaries (which, however, has not even yet been effected) to close the cruel gap between high prices and fixed incomes.

It is, of course, possible that the reasons put forward by government spokesmen were not the real reasons for China's not wanting to try to break market prices as they stood when relief goods first started to enter the country. However, if food prices were kept relatively high, not for the purpose of benefiting producers but to play into the hands of speculators, this fact is not yet apparent.

Critics could, of course, easily quarrel with the policy of selling any food at all so long as the need for mass-feeding measures was so acute. This problem has now apparently been remedied. Informal advices reaching this country indicate that U.N.R.R.A. foods are no longer being sold but are now being distributed on a free basis only.

Advocates of the sale of U.N.R.R.A. foodstuffs in the first place properly contended that one of the chief roles of a relief program was to help rehabilitate industry and trade. In part, this could be done, it was argued, by putting important relief goods into normal trade channels.

A further example of the use of food for rehabilitation purposes was the experiment of paying coal miners in U.N.R.R.A.-imported flour rather than in cash or other commodities. At the time this experiment was initiated coal was one of China's most vital needs. It was required to move ships to carry food. It was essential to run what few trains transportation-poor China still had. It was indispensable, too, to the resumption of production of needed commodities and to the reduction of unemployment. Use of flour as an incentive

wage was officially credited (though this writer has reason to think the claim somewhat exaggerated) with having doubled coal production in certain northern mines within a very short time. Inasmuch as the flour had been paid in lieu of wages, the workers who earned it had every right to do with it what they chose, particularly since the quantity paid for a normal stint of work was considerably more than most families normally consumed, and since, too, returns from the sale of the flour on the open market could be used to buy cheaper foods that would last much longer than would the flour.

The fact that some of the flour paid to coal miners turned up on local markets was roundly attacked by critics, even though the original intent—successfully realized—had been to spur production through giving to miners something they wanted above all else in return for their increased labor.

In addition to other considerations affecting food distribution policy in China there was a cultural factor which students of relief history, and particularly those familiar with England's infamous "principles of 1834," will recognize as an old friend. This was the fact that the flour which constituted so large a proportion of U.N.R.R.A. food shipments to China was of a grade and quality familiar only to China's wealthiest classes. Even these in normal times would enjoy such flour only occasionally.

Because of these facts the flour was often regarded as "too good" for those economic groups which were most in need. Administrators thus ran headlong into the historic principle of "less eligibility." The same principle, incidentally, also blocked the distribution of the Western-style clothes contributed in the United States, Canada, Australia, and

elsewhere for free distribution. Chinese administrators for a long time found it impossible and still find it difficult to bring themselves to give to a coolie or ricksha-puller a Western-style overcoat they would be glad to have for themselves or others in their families. However, conditions upon which the clothing had been accepted by U.N.R.R.A. for free distribution absolutely precluded its sale. There was no possibility, therefore, to use the proceeds of such sales to purchase cloth or clothing of a type more familiar to the lower economic groups. In the case of food there were no such restrictions. Consequently, it was contemplated that in some areas the more expensive U.N.R.R.A. flour (as well as other U.N.R.R.A.-provided supplies) would be sold to yield proceeds from which might be purchased coarser foods to which recipients were more accustomed or which would sustain life for a longer period than would the quantity of flour sold. Unfortunately, it is impossible at this writing to say how much of the proceeds from the sale of U.N.R.R.A. supplies actually was used for the purchase of other foodstuffs. Still, the fact that they might be so used was often cited as good and sufficient justification of flour sales.

Despite current accusations in the press of this country that significant quantities of relief supplies in China are not distributed honestly, there are few objective data to support these views. Similarly, there is little factual basis for significant comparisons with relief distribution in other countries. However, from personal observation of local relief operations in China, the writer—who, however, has no knowledge of the Chinese language—believes that the vast majority of relief supplies distributed through local outlets is being as honestly

administered as one could reasonably expect under the difficult conditions prevailing. Furthermore, the writer has firsthand evidence that when specific abuses in administration are called to the attention of responsible officials summary action quickly follows. In Tientsin, for example, where a tradesman, whose store was used as a relief distribution center, substituted inferior flour for the high grade U.N.R.R.A. product being distributed, the mayor acted quickly. He denied the tradesman the right further to use his store as a distribution center, revoked his license to sell foodstuffs, and confiscated his food stocks, which were turned over for relief purposes.

As is the case in almost any country, it is not known what proportion of abuses in relief administration are discovered, what proportion of those discovered are appropriately dealt with, and what proportion of the actions fall upon the really guilty parties as contrasted with some petty accomplice who just happens to be caught. Appointment by the U.N.R.R.A. Council on the Far East of a committee to investigate China's distribution of relief should help to answer such questions as these. Until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, it is the writer's firm conviction that allegations appearing in the press are far from representative of the total situation and the abuses cited far from universal.

The foregoing are but a few of the difficulties attending the administration of emergency relief in China. Other obstacles include a wide range of cultural and historic factors which are described elsewhere^{*} as the lack (at least as measured by Western standards) (a) of a sense of social responsibility; (b) of a

^{*} See "Welfare Problems and Program in China" by Donald S. Howard in forthcoming *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1946*.

sense of urgency; (c) of a milieu in which efficient administration has at least a 50-50 chance; and (d) of a sufficient body of competent administrators.

With respect to the first of these lacks it must, however, be said that in the absence of a broad sense of social responsibility China has a strong sense of family responsibility and solidarity. Similarly, in lieu of what a Westerner might regard as an appropriate sense of urgency, China has phenomenal patience and staying power. In view of conditions that have prevailed in the past and are likely to prevail in at least the near future, her own culture pattern may indeed be much more appropriate for China than would be more Westernized patterns. Nevertheless, characteristics that might—in the long pull—be right for China often prove to be extremely frustrating obstacles to fast-moving administration of emergency relief.

Despite what a Westerner would regard as serious obstacles to the administration of emergency relief in China, there has been significant progress in the distribution of China's woefully inadequate relief funds and supplies in the all but hopeless task of meeting her truly tragic needs.

Just how grievous are the needs to be met in China was once evidenced by the mental exercise of computing—not seriously, but merely as exercise, let it be repeated—how many relief workers would be needed in China if each undertook what might be regarded in the United States not as an average but as a heavy work load. According to this calculation the number of relief workers, of whom there were then only about five hundred in all China, was no less than six hundred thousand.

As further evidence of China's needs one might cite her refugees, variously es-

timated anywhere from twenty million upward. In terms of these United States it would be as if all the people of the western states from Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico to the coast, plus all the people of Texas, were somehow displaced from their states of usual residence, sometimes forced only a few hundred miles, but sometimes driven several thousand. When one recalls the agonies involved in settling these vast areas of the United States in the first instance, he can perhaps better visualize the problems involved in re-establishing in their former communities—many of which have been destroyed—a comparable number of Chinese. Incidentally, the railroad mileage in the United States a hundred years ago, when large numbers of settlers moved west, was just about the equivalent of that to be found today in China—a country of approximately the same size as our own.

In the single Chinese province of Honan it was expected this spring that half-a-million refugees would pass through each month. These half-million persons trekking across a *single* province would represent some 22 per cent more people than the largest number ever cared for in one month throughout all the United States by our federal transient program which, it will be recalled, all but swamped our vaunted American organizational and administrative capacity. What responsibility for the movement and care of twenty million refugees under conditions prevailing in China would probably have done to our federal transient organization is too distressing to contemplate. What is in fact happening and likely to continue to happen in China is even more sobering.

By and large, China's refugees follow five general routes. Along the first of these, which runs from Sian westward

(and which at this writing is cut at several points by Communist-Nationalist lines), the Chinese government hopes to help somewhat with rail and truck transportation and a series of shelters of different types. Some of these are to be large distribution centers, some, small wayside stations. Others are to be relatively complete service centers with facilities such as medical care and employment for refugees unable immediately to press on to their homes. The second refugee route is a water route (along which C.N.R.R.A. has already provided boat, barge, and junk transportation for perhaps ten thousand refugees) extending from Chungking to Ichang, Hankow, Nanking, and the coast. The third route, largely following interior highways, runs from Kunming and Kweiyang to Changsha and adjacent centers. The fourth is again a water route beginning, say, at Liuchow and ending at Canton and the coast. Along all these routes at least some transportation has already been provided, but the numbers moved can be counted only in hundreds rather than in hundreds of thousands. The fifth refugee route is that followed by the considerable numbers of persons who have fled from Communist areas to Nationalist-controlled districts. These refugees in many instances are landowners and tradesmen. Their return to their homes must, of course, await more stable Communist-Nationalist relationships.

Where transportation facilities have been lacking, walking parties have sometimes been organized. In a few instances these trekkers have been accompanied by trucks to administer first aid, to attend the sick, or to pick up stragglers.

Whether parties are moved by foot, boat, truck, or train, food for the journey is normally supplied. This may be pro-

vided in kind, to carry; be served at food stations en route; or be provided for through cash grants. When refugee parties pass through famine or other areas of severe food shortages, the problem of feeding them is almost insuperable. Not infrequently people indigenous to the food-shortage area prove openly hostile to refugees trekking through.

Upon arrival at their destination refugees are frequently given a lump sum of money to facilitate their rehabilitation. Unfortunately, these sums are usually very small and, with all prices shooting upward and with little or no guidance or help in the investment of the meager fund, constructive rehabilitation is difficult indeed.

Experience with refugees arriving at coastal or other terminal points indicates that the last move is by far the hardest to make. So long as refugees have opportunity, at government expense, to move toward their home provinces they jump at the offer. However, when it comes to leaving the last shelter and returning to their old homes, which they suspect or perhaps know have been destroyed, or where they are no longer certain of relief, it is another matter. As a result, centers and localities at terminal points tend to become overcrowded.

Refugee shelters, measured by Western standards, would be regarded as very inadequate. The shelters themselves frequently are abandoned temples or ancestral halls or perhaps light bamboo mat sheds providing but questionable security from rain and cold. The writer has seen, in various sections of China, refugees lying in water and mud because the shelters could not be made weatherproof. Frequently there have been no brick, lumber, or other supplies to permit refugees to sleep any place other than the floor or bare ground. Feeding usually is

limited to two meals per day. These may consist of watery rice or dry-cooked or steamed rice or perhaps a soupy millet gruel. Sometimes leafy vegetables are cooked with the watery cereals. On rare occasions a little peanut or sesame seed oil is also added.

Further services provided in shelters and refugee centers include water and tubs for bathing, simple facilities for de-lousing, provision for barbering, medical services (including first aid, inoculations, and, on occasion, hospital treatment), and, finally, work relief. In a number of areas work projects have been organized to enable refugees to make or repair clothing, to make brick and tile, and to produce wooden, leather, and other products needed for relief purposes. Frequently, work projects are organized as co-operatives.

Shelter care sometimes is limited to women and children, or perhaps to aged men also. The usual rule, however, is to provide, within the meager resources available, for all who are really in need.

Surprisingly few unattached children have, to this writing at least, turned up. Somehow children left alone become attached to family groups to which the children frequently are somehow related and which undertake provision for them. During the emergency relief period there has been little time even to think about unscrambling mixed family ties or helping children to find other family groups better suited to their needs. When unaccompanied children must be provided for, they are usually placed in institutions either under governmental or voluntary auspices.

In the case of the "warphanages" (which provide not only for orphans but for any child victims of war) the major problem is to help children locate, and return to, their relatives. Only about 30

per cent of the warphans are thought to be orphans also.

With respect to China's greatest need, that for food, the original hope was, where possible, to provide a pound of rice (or its equivalent) per person per day. Rice and other food shortages being what they are, relief recipients are lucky to receive daily the equivalent of half a pound of dry rice—some 800 calories.

In addition to food, it is necessary in China to provide boiled water. Unless boiled for approximately ten minutes, water carries a constant threat of dysentery and cholera, which often result in quick death. If fuel were only accessible, to say nothing of being plentiful, water-boiling would present no great difficulties. However, when only weeds and rice husks are available, a vast amount of scrounging over already cleanly picked countrysides is required to yield the necessary quantities of these fast-burning fuels.

Still another method of food distribution used in China is to provide uncooked food—largely rice and flour—for needy families. Names of such families frequently are submitted by local public relief officers or by agencies such as the Red or Blue Swastika societies organized under Buddhist auspices. Sometimes such lists are screened by C.N.R.R.A., sometimes not.

A further means of feeding needy people is through the allocation of relief foodstuffs—again usually rice or flour—to institutions such as hospitals, children's homes (including "warphanages"), widows' homes, beggars' camps, and homes for the aged.

Clothing—mostly the used Western-style garments already mentioned—is distributed in much the same way as are foodstuffs.

In the case of the institutions and ex-

isting agencies being given U.N.R.R.A. relief supplies, these frequently receive only enough to help them carry on their meager pre-war programs, which they could not otherwise continue because of war damage or loss or because of the organization's disruption under Japanese control. In only a relatively few instances are U.N.R.R.A. supplies sufficient to enable established institutions to undertake any considerable amount of new work.

Statistics of the number of persons receiving food or clothing by the various means employed in China are, unfortunately, not available. Whatever the number, it is far, far too small; and the amounts of relief given are pitifully inadequate.

Just how inadequate are the relief supplies in China is evidenced by a recent estimate that the number of people in need of imported food in order to survive is no less than thirty million—more, by 10 per cent, than the total population of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia combined. This estimate, it must be noted, is limited to people who could be reached through existing means of transportation. How many are in need of food but are beyond the reach of available transport is not known.

The prime importance of this question of transport to computations of food needs for China is indicated by the fact that one official Chinese estimate is based upon the assumption that two million tons, if available, could be moved within a four-month period. Mr. Hoover, however, estimates that only about 590,000 tons can be moved within this same period.² The difference, it might be

² China's requirements as reported by Mr. Hoover are not based upon estimates of need (the basis used in computing requirements for all other countries) but upon what he terms "utmost capacity of inland transport."

added, would be enough to give at least 1,600 calories a day to some 20,000,000 persons for four months!

Facts like these make it clear why rehabilitation of old, and creation of new, transportation facilities in China are urgently required for relief purposes, to say nothing of economic and industrial rehabilitation and the long overdue release of man from his grueling role as bearer of burdens. It is no wonder that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in enumerating the basic necessities of life for China, listed—along with food, clothing, and shelter—"the means of travel."

Vast improvement in China's transport situation could, of course, be quickly realized through diversion for relief purposes of transportation equipment by the army. According to one estimate, some 70 per cent of China's transportation equipment is now being used for the movement of soldiers and war matériel for her own internal conflict.

Today's severe food shortages in China—which even normally is a food-importing country—are attributable to severe drought (which has struck even the famed lake region of Hunan Province, the "rice bowl" of China), extensive locust damage, war devastation, the flooding of large areas to impede the advance of the Japanese, the destruction of work animals, the loss of agricultural tools, large drains on food resources made by both Chinese and Japanese armies, and, finally, the conscription of farm laborers into the Chinese army and their abduction to work for the Japanese. Operating perhaps singly or in combination in different sections of China, these factors are responsible for what today appears to be the world's single greatest food problem.

Turning from the broad view to a particular area, one might see conditions

like the following which have been officially reported from Honan Province (scene of the 1938 break in the dike of the Yellow River to impede the advancing Japanese):

Conditions very serious in Western and Central Honan and the area north of the Yellow River. Two million people in Western Honan reported in desperate need of relief, of whom 30 per cent can get by on local help. Extreme hunger is reported in the portions of the Province flooded by the River, with people eating materials not food.

"Eating materials not food": Wrapped up in that final colorless phrase is the tragic and hopeless quest of those despairing of finding substances from which they can derive nourishment. There is, instead, the quest for substances which will allay hunger, yet not prove fatal. That even "materials not food" can bring to hunger-drawn faces the flicker of a smile is evidenced by a recent widely published photograph of a smiling Chinese mother, happily looking on while her obviously well-pleased baby intently reaches into his bowl—not for choice morsels of food—but for a handful of cooked grass.

Recent word from a Chinese relief worker serving in China's now battered and broken "rice bowl" tells that

people in the country are actually eating weeds, clay, husks of grain. A child by the name of Mo Chin-chun, aged ten, was picking the weeds when we passed him. He had a pair of bright eyes, yet he looked so tired and thin. He told us softly, "We have been eating on weed for three months . . . not much weed these days, too many people are eating on that. . . . My mother is a blind and father is sick of sore feet. . . . I have to come out and look for weed. . . ." We visited his home. His mother had eaten her share and reserved a bowl of cooked weed and [flour] paste for the son. . . . We often saw people staring at the fields trying to find some weeds, rather absent-mindedly, or we should say in utter despair. . . .

In the old days, it was quite fun to travel in spring. The trees, the areas, the flowers, they all would cheer you up and give you more pep. But this time the sort of picture that mingled with the natural sceneries was not so pleasant. It made you think more seriously.

. . . One month ago there was some grass to be eaten, this month less grass, next month still harder and you have quite a few months ahead yet.

Working under conditions like these, relief workers having only a normal degree of human sympathy—but particularly those who have previously worked only in a country like the United States—suffer greatly from the ordeal of sometime having to throw overboard one of relief work's cardinal principles: that relief shall be distributed on the basis of relative need. In famine or other areas of severe shortages the meager supply of relief goods is sometimes wholly insufficient to assure the survival of those persons who are in greatest need. Supplies must, rather, be saved for those in lesser need who, if aided, could probably survive. The decision to abandon the principle of aiding those persons who are in greatest need is perhaps the most difficult choice a relief worker can ever be called upon to make. And, once he has determined that *these* shall be saved but that *those* shall be allowed to die, a worker feels a sickening sensation, as if something vital inside him had given way, as if something sacred had been debased.

The gross inadequacy of available supplies to meet China's almost bottomless need is evidenced by the figures on food. Among China's original requests (made long before the current shortages could be forecast) was one for an average of some 216,000 tons of foodstuffs per month. By April 1, 1946, however, the *total* quantity of foodstuffs actually de-

livered to China amounted to only about 250,000 tons, or approximately 38 per cent of the total requested for the elapsed period.

Discrepancies between requirements and actual receipts are particularly striking in the case of rice—the basic food in large sections of China. Allocations of rice by the Combined Food Board average only about 27 per cent of U.N.R.R.A. estimates of Chinese rice requirements. In other Pacific areas, it may be noted, Food Board allocations average some 56 per cent of estimated requirements. Actual shipments, unfortunately, have fallen, far, far below even these meager allocations. During the first week in May (the latest period for which data are available) actual shipments represented only nine-tenths of 1 per cent of the Combined Food Board's allocation and only two-tenths of 1 per cent of U.N.R.R.A.'s estimate of China's needs. This is due, of course, to the serious world shortage of rice. But—and this is the tragedy—the deficiency has not been compensated by increases in shipments of foodstuffs that are available.

Primary responsibility for the administration of the Chinese emergency relief and rehabilitation program is vested in C.N.R.R.A. The head of this agency is of cabinet rank. To co-ordinate the work of C.N.R.R.A. with that of ministries concerned in various aspects of the China program, there has been established a co-ordinating committee made up of various cabinet ministers. Because of his particular interest in many of the problems confronted, the Premier, Dr. T. V. Soong, is often looked to for direct action in relief matters.

Funds authorized for the Chinese relief and rehabilitation program by the Executive Yuan total no less than 242,-

000,000,000 Chinese dollars, which at this writing would represent roughly 121,000,000 United States dollars. To date only a fraction of this authorized appropriation has in fact been made available for relief purposes. A sizeable proportion of the authorized total is expected to come from the proceeds of the sale of U.N.R.R.A. supplies. Concern over China's failure more effectively to finance relief operations led the U.N.R.R.A. Council on the Far East to investigate the issue.

Under the agreement between U.N.R.R.A. and the Chinese government, U.N.R.R.A. supplies, upon reaching China, are turned over directly to C.N.R.R.A., except when other arrangements are made by special agreement. To date the only relief supplies handled directly by U.N.R.R.A. are those distributed to some 15,000 Jewish and other European displaced persons located primarily at Shanghai. Pressure of world public opinion led U.N.R.R.A. to undertake responsibility for this group since standards of care insisted upon were markedly higher than those for Chinese under similar circumstances and since the Chinese government was unwilling itself to assume responsibility for giving to non-Chinese a higher level of relief and care than it was able to provide for Chinese.

The basic C.N.R.R.A. organization is highly decentralized, with branch offices responsible usually for operations in an entire province. Because of the degree of decentralization of the program, relief operations in China have been accurately described as "a fifteen-front war." Unfortunately, the lack of sufficient competent and experienced personnel has delayed overlong the initiation of operations in a number of needy areas.

Work of official agencies is supplemented by that of voluntary organizations, some of which are indigenous but most of which include foreign personnel, or, at least, receive funds from abroad.

In some instances voluntary organizations have devoted their resources to spearhead operations, quickly initiating relief work in areas where governmental procedures (such as requirements for the appropriation of money) were likely to delay work unduly. In other instances voluntary organizations have staked out specific areas in which they agreed to render certain defined health or relief services which the governmental agencies then avoided duplicating. In still other areas (as in Hunan Province, where the director of the work of the voluntary agencies is the deputy director of C.N.R.R.A. operations) various projects are carried on more or less jointly, the voluntary organizations sometimes furnishing personnel, sometimes providing a shelter or a shelter's management, or otherwise supplementing the work of official agencies which assume basic responsibility for all types of need.

Increasingly, voluntary agencies in China are seeking to put their resources into longer-range rehabilitation, social welfare, and educational projects, leaving emergency and direct relief to governmental authorities who gradually are becoming able to cope with them.

Because of flexibilities in the way they may be used and because of the cooperative and far-seeing personnel responsible for their administration, funds contributed in America for voluntary relief agencies in China yield even greater returns than their considerable magnitude would lead one to expect.

While basic responsibility for the administration of the Chinese relief pro-

gram rests with C.N.R.R.A., it is the function of U.N.R.R.A. in every way possible to assist the Chinese organization to carry on efficiently. To this end U.N.R.R.A. personnel in large numbers are turned over to C.N.R.R.A. to work under the direction and control of that organization. Other U.N.R.R.A. personnel, also organized on a regional basis, continue to be responsible to and are supervised by U.N.R.R.A. but co-operate with their Chinese colleagues in every possible way to help them get along with the work. The Chinese government, which only recently succeeded in abolishing extraterritoriality, is—and quite properly—extremely jealous of its prerogatives and watches with understandable concern to see that U.N.R.R.A. personnel keep to their role of aiding the Chinese organization rather than undertaking operations themselves.

Among the foreign personnel made available to China is a considerable number (at this writing perhaps one hundred) of highly competent American social workers. In addition to general welfare and relief workers there are specialists in the care of children, the aged, and other special groups; specialists in work relief; in housing and shelter; and in the movement of refugees. These ambassadors of American social work are achieving signal success, not only in helping to work out technical methods of meeting China's staggering needs, but also in providing the spark and impetus so essential to get relief work under way in areas where wide-scale and fast-moving operations are a novelty.

To see these workers in action gives one a new appreciation of the validity of American social-work principles, of the soundness of our technical skills, and of

the great advantage of combining technical and administrative responsibilities rather than separating these and relying upon one set of officers for technical skill and upon another for administrative ability.

While the immediate goal of relief measures and personnel in China is to combat the present avalanche of war-created needs, the longer-range purpose

is to help China to realize her own dreams for herself. These, as formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—and supported by Nationalists and Communists alike—are: national freedom, extension of democracy, and the improvement of living conditions. For these, foreign friends of China also work.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

THEY ARE NOT EXPENDABLE¹

THE HOMELESS AND REFUGEE CHILDREN IN GERMANY

ERNST PAPANEK

ONLY a few thousands of the homeless orphan children who have been in German concentration and labor camps are lucky enough to have left the camps and gone to Switzerland, Sweden, France, England, or Palestine temporarily or permanently. Most of these have been placed in institutions; some have been placed with relatives or foster-parents; an extraordinarily high percentage, however, has completely failed to adjust. Children enthusiastically received in institutions in France and Palestine have run away after a short time; some have never returned, and some have come back from time to time only to leave again. Some of them have formed gangs in the cities and villages near by; there are similar gangs in German cities near the camps where many thousands of children are still living. These runaways roam about, living on odd jobs and theft, preferring this kind of life to normal adjustment.

TERROR PSYCHOLOGY

Dr. Eugene Minkowsky (Paris, France), who had an opportunity to examine some of the children coming from camps in Germany to the children's homes of the O.S.E. (*Euvre pour la Santé et l'Education*) in France, described them as undisciplined, unstable, primitive, even bestial, but nevertheless eager for affection. He found them much attached to one another and possessed of marked "gang" spirit. The Nazis had

systematically taught them vice and nothing more. They showed a great eagerness for learning. Having seen people die in their midst and having come very close to death themselves, they had lost their sense of death and their respect for life.

These children have never gone through anything like a normal childhood development. They have grown up without parental love and without any substitute for it: without home or school, without older friends, without relatives. Nazi terror has left no room for a sense of security or an identification of the child with his parents. In hours of real danger their families were unable to offer them protection or security. Their fathers were unable to protect themselves: they were beaten and humiliated by the Nazis, thrown into concentration camps, or murdered, without any possibility of resistance or self-defense. Their mothers, when still near them, were in constant terror of persecution and humiliation. Later, separated from their parents and struggling for their very lives in Nazi labor or concentration camps, these youngsters either had to stand alone and grow servile and treacherous or become mercilessly disciplined members of a gang—a gang living outside a world closed and hostile to them.

Morals and mores, the relation between the sexes, the rights and duties of the individual in a normal society—all these will have to be learned from the beginning by children and young people who have grown accustomed to an utter-

¹ The title of this article is that of a study the author is just finishing on homeless and refugee children.

ly abnormal life under terror and fear. Drives that human society had sublimated in the course of thousands of years have resumed their bestial form in these youngsters. Instincts have been developed in them which must bring them, in a civilized society, into constant conflict with the community and must inevitably endanger that community.

THEY ARE NOT EXPENDABLE

The physical rehabilitation and the moral, emotional, and psychological readjustment of all these children are essential to the reconstruction of the peaceful world we are striving for. They are not expendable—not one of the hundreds of thousands of homeless and refugee child victims of a persecution and war in which they had no active part.

All the European countries are eager to keep their orphaned and homeless children: Palestine, France, and many other countries are interested in taking others from the assembly camps in Germany and bringing them up as their own. Only recently President Truman, with a significant human gesture, advised American immigration authorities to admit as many orphans as possible to the United States. Will these children be an asset or a liability to the nation which receives them? Will they be welcome young blood to nations that have lost so much, or will they be juvenile delinquents now and future criminals? Will they be an aid and support in the construction of a new and better world, or will they drag us down, back to the primitive age of jungle rule? The answer to these questions depends on our approach to the problem involved. The decision is still in our hands. The prospect of a bright future is very good; the danger that we will fall into a pessimistic, negative mood is even greater.

INSECURE FEELING AND MISTRUST

These children, just released from an oppression and terror suffered for many years, are still accustomed to habits and reactions learned through their former experiences; they are suspicious of every new experience. Martha Warburg reports on her experiences in Camp Föhrenwald, Bavaria, where at the end of 1945 more than four hundred Jewish children were concentrated temporarily:

We are proceeding well with this school—almost too well. I was waiting for the setback but did not expect that it would come so quickly—it came today! It was raining cats and dogs, and most of the children had torn shoes. A mutiny broke out. They had seen that shoes were being distributed among the Poles (who were slowly being moved out of the camp)—and they were furious. They were entitled to the shoes first, they argued, and they would not go to school, especially gym classes, unless they got decent shoes. I was in despair. The UNRRA director had told me that shoes will be coming along—probably next week. But the children have long ago ceased to believe in promises. Their distrust, and that of the grownups as well, is not to be overcome. Today for the first time we distributed Joint Parcels in the camp. The Joint (American Joint Distribution Committee) bought up former Red Cross parcels from Switzerland containing sugar, coffee, fish, preserves, cigarettes, and meat. The meat was not Kosher, and we decided to open the parcels and replace the meat by cans of milk. When we distributed them everybody grumbled. They accused us of having taken things out, and did not believe us when we told them what we had done and why we had done it.

How strong their distrust is I learned yesterday. A group of children and grownups was to leave Feldafing Camp. As the order was given only a day in advance (it came from the authorities), they were very suspicious and refused to go. They were so used to being dragged out of their beds at night and carried away by force that many fled and spent the whole night in the forest surrounding the camp in a downpour that defies description.

Mistrust is always a reaction to a feeling of insecurity, and we must admit that

these children have reason enough for feeling insecure after all they have been through. In the same report on Camp Föhrenwald, Martha Warburg writes that a checkup of the children was once made at 11:30 P.M.

Incredible scenes took place. The children had been frightened by so many raids at night when they had already gone to bed that they reacted hysterically. The checkup was made because the children were suspected of double registration, a frequent trick to get double rations. The camp representatives find this practice dangerous (with good reason) since the authorities have decided to close the camps when we have a total of 3,200 persons registered. That means that our camp will be closed to newcomers when 3,200 names are on paper although the actual number of inmates may be lower.

There is no doubt that the checkup was necessary and was made by the camp representatives themselves. But neither is there any doubt that by the method in which the checkup was carried out a great deal of harm was done to these children emotionally and psychologically. Martha Warburg describes how she tried to undo this harm; we believe that her experience is typical and may be very helpful to us. She called a meeting of the children of the camp.

All the children appeared, and I must say that the discipline was admirable. I told them that I thought they had lost so many valuable years of study that every month and every day must now count double; they should not miss one single lesson, not one single week of school.

....

I distributed all the Youth Aliyah calendars which had been sent to me; I can hardly describe how enthusiastic they were about them. Our last bulletin was also in great demand, although they could not read it properly. They are so starved for all reading material that they grab at anything. For days they pore over June and July issues of Palestinian newspapers and take special care of them.

FROM GANG MENTALITY TO COMMUNITY SPIRIT

Placing these children with decent families or in well-equipped children's institutions would be insufficient. More than other children, they must regain the conviction that they are accepted, that they are members of a group, that they are no longer an object to be handled but human beings able to co-operate and share in democratic decisions. The larger community of the nation, the town, even the neighborhood, cannot offer more than an initial general acceptance to promote the children's new sense of belonging. "Active social life" and "creative activities" can, aside from the family, be enjoyed only in the company of age-equals, and here group work in a children's community is of special importance for displaced children. Their community must be based on work and "self-government." This self-government should not be run like a debating society. Discussions should be of actual community problems or of organizational and emotional problems arising out of the children's living together. We must not limit the discussions or cut them short before the children wish or before matters have been clarified, or almost clarified. Time is lost in long and tiresome discussions, but more time is saved by a later decrease in the number of problems arising. Much will be achieved for the children's rehabilitation, re-education, and adjustment to society.

HAUNTED BY BAD CONSCIENCE AND FEELING OF GUILT

There is hardly one among the many tens of thousands of persecuted and displaced children who is not burdened with an individual emotional distress. They are all haunted by the memory of situations which they would like not to be

true—the times they informed against their comrades, the times they were greedy at the cost of others, the times they were cowardly. While the author of this article was working on a study of homeless and refugee children, he received from a boy of sixteen years the following answer to a questionnaire: "I did not bear this persecution very courageously or proudly. I shall never forget this cowardice. Not because I am ashamed that I was cowardly, but because I hate my humble submissive spirit. I was so frightened, and I cannot get rid of this fear. I never feel safe; I don't even feel safe from my fear."

We have hundreds of thousands of children who are haunted by feelings of guilt because they were able to save themselves while their parents, sisters, brothers, or their friends perished. They believe that everyone is reproaching them. Even an inquiry as to what happened to their families or their friends makes them feel that you disapprove of them because they are safe and the others are dead. They do not want to talk about it and yet they long for someone to talk to, someone to relieve them of their nightmare and their fear.

If we do not help them now, all these dreadful traumata of conscience, fear, and individual social maladjustments will come into the open sooner or later as neuroses or socially dangerous aggressiveness.

FINAL APPROACH AFTER LIBERATION

These children need the best professional help which we can provide for their individual and social re-education, at least until they are convalescing and handed over to the loving and understanding care of a normal family or children's institution.

A French social worker, who worked

in Feldafing before she brought fifty children from that camp to England, described the conditions in the camp in the *Bulletin O.S.E.* of November 15, 1945, "in theory and on paper" and "in practice and in reality."

In Theory: 450 children take care of their own homes and organize their own lives. That is the sacred principle of "Selbstverwaltung." There are children's courts, there is administration by the children and property in their hands, there are group discussions, room monitors, etc. A time schedule in the office of the "Director of the School" informs as to the hours of Hebrew, singing, English, and mathematics classes, etc., according to age and level. A magnificent "Kinderkasino," located at a short distance from the camp, is used by the children for their meals and leisure activities. Life from morning to night seems marvelously well organized. . . .

In Reality: There were no classes except a course in Hebrew given three times a week to a group of 15 children. As for the "Kinderkasino," it existed; the house was there. That was all. The children had their meals at very irregular hours, that is, when their "affairs" permitted them time to eat and when the food arrived from the kitchen.

The life of the children: They did whatever they wanted, went wherever they liked, to Munich, to the lake, anywhere and at any time. They loafed about, did not work, and were eager to learn something, just learn.

About this situation this social worker draws the following conclusion: "Considering the conditions of the camp, I was not interested in making great changes there but in preparing the departure of the children out of this country where they suffered so much."

We fear this is the wrong consequence of the unhealthy situation described. The period between their liberation from Nazi terror and their final placement is decisive, in the future development of displaced children, in determining whether they will become healthy, happy individuals or delinquents and neurotic wrecks—whether they will prove an asset or a danger to society.

CHILD CARE UNITS IN ASSEMBLY CAMPS

The Unitarian Service Committee has proposed to U.N.R.R.A. and Military Government that it immediately send child-care units for displaced children to assembly centers in Germany. One child-care unit would consist of six child-care specialists and one administrative assistant. The six specialists should include two child case workers and two child group workers (it is preferable that these four include at least one male worker), one trained psychiatric social worker, and one nurse. It would be well for a pediatrician and a child psychiatrist to be assigned to work with child-care units in several small neighboring camps or in one large camp. Otherwise the camp physician would have to be called on for assistance in organizing and supervising health programs administered by the nurse.

The purpose of the unit would be to prepare the children administratively, physically, and emotionally for permanent placement. Each child would be studied—as would the adults with the child if related to him—as to the possibility of the re-establishment of broken family ties in some cases and new placement in others. Psychiatric social workers and case workers would try to help the individual child master his past experiences and establish normal relations with present and future.

Group work would be organized not only for the purpose of keeping the children busy while still in camp, although that is of the greatest importance during the interim period, but constructive group work would also be of special aid in establishing normal relationships with other individuals and society and in helping the children to regain emotional and social security.

The nurse would be responsible for the hygienic care of the children. She would teach them physical cleanliness, dental hygiene, and so on, and see to it that the children who were unwell received proper medical care.

The child-care units would try to organize some kind of educational setup with the help of displaced adults if there were no professional academic and workshop teachers available.

Special emphasis would be laid on community work for the improvement of living conditions in the camp, although the children would know that they were not to stay in the camp. They should not be permitted to believe that it would not pay to improve the camp because they would be there only a short time—that it was smarter to let someone else do the work. They should be led to do almost everything themselves, to organize everything themselves, with the help of the workers. It should be important that everything they did to improve their present situation should count toward building their future. The workers should never emphasize the temporary or provisional nature of the work; there should always be a permanent routine, even if the child were there only for one day.

The unit would distribute educational and toilet kits of American Youth for World Youth, clothing, if possible, books, and personal commodities. To give these children a sense of individual possession of personal necessities and to give them friendly contact with youngsters here would be no less important to human society than would be the development of community spirit and co-operativeness to which we seek to sublimate their gang spirit.

The workers of the unit would decide when a child is administratively, emotionally, and physically ready to be per-

manently placed. Certainly no child should be kept longer than is administratively necessary in an unhealthy camp atmosphere. But why should we not turn to their advantage the necessity for keeping many of these children in camps? Why should we not transfer whole groups with their units to better-equipped institutions outside of Germany?

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Of course, in many of the cases professional re-education work will not be completed when the children leave the camps. In spite of bad experiences with many cases in France, Switzerland, Sweden, and Palestine, the author still believes that most children released from concentration camps should, for a while at least, live in children's communities. We cannot discuss extensively here all the problems involved, but it must be emphasized that children's communities should not attempt to imitate family life. Community education has its own characteristics and makes its own contributions to education by methods peculiar to itself, just as do family, school, and boy-scout education. Every attempt to combine in an institution the two educational factors of community and family, diverse as they are, must end in failure, as many children's homes have done in spite of good direction.

A children's community must not supply a fake father or mother, whether called "cottage father" and "cottage mother" or something else, as the unrealistic focal point of community life. The child community itself and its logical social expression through community representation must be the focus. Of course, such representation will not consist simply of representatives of the group; it must also include representatives of society and the larger com-

munity, the counselors, teachers, and social workers appointed by society to help where parents cannot.

We feel that our experience with this method in our refugee children's homes in France² was highly successful. When about two hundred of these children later came to this country and displayed excellent powers of adjustment and emotional stability, we felt that our faith in these methods had been justified.

CO-ADMINISTRATION BY DEMOCRATIC CHILDREN'S REPRESENTATION

Our children's community and our "co-administration"—we did not call it "self-government"—were organized just after the children had escaped from totalitarian Nazi Germany and its authoritarian education. Many of the boys and even girls were still deeply impressed by the blind obedience of the Hitler Youth, the rigid routine of their lives, the ritual of the Hitler salute, all of which they had seen but had been excluded from. Some of them would have been delighted to be able to play a bit at being Hitler Youth now.

In this atmosphere we developed our co-administration. It was in no wise regarded as merely instructive play, either by the children or by the adults. It was an important element of our institutions' educational work. It was a means—and one of the chief means—of moral training and character building and was, at the same time, an inherent part of the deductive work-study method, which seeks to replace a superficial knowledge of school subjects by real assimilation of the material and to give the children an opportunity to work according to their individual talents and abilities under the

² Ernst Papanek organized the O.S.E. children's homes in France and was their general director from 1938 to 1940.

guidance of the teachers. We called it "co-administration," not self-government, the more common term. The children understood perfectly well that it was impossible to hand over the entire management of the home to them, since the task of an educational institution is, after all, education. The educational principle comes first and necessarily limits all administrative functions as well as the general freedom of adults and children.

Thus, instead of giving the children an illusion of unrestricted freedom, we tried to define for them the limits of their freedom, relying on those principles in which the children themselves saw justice and which made their administrative activities not play for them but reality.

There are sufficient political and philosophical justifications for our emphasis on democratic beliefs and practices in our educational setup. What we should like to stress here is that we are convinced that there is no more effective and fruitful educational method for most of the children whom we are considering here than that of co-administration in a real children's community. Their common experiences in labor or concentration camps in Germany, their emotional reactions and psychological adjustment to their situation, the resultant gang mentality, which we should attempt to turn into community spirit—all these factors call for a shorter or longer transition period of re-education for most of these children in a real children's community, under qualified and well-organized professional leadership. Aside from the fact that we shall not have enough foster-homes or adoptive homes for the time being, the kind of institutional care we have described is indicated in any event after these children have left the concentration or labor camps.

THE PESTALOZZI VILLAGES

A highly interesting project whose example, we believe, should, in this form or a similar form, be followed wherever possible is that of a Swiss association created especially for the purpose of running children's homes and called the Pestalozzi Villages (in memory of the great Zurich educator). Child victims of the war who have to be placed somewhere but, for obvious reasons, cannot be placed with families, would be sent to villages especially constructed for them. Each village would receive between two hundred and two thousand children of both sexes, all of the same nationality. The adult staff (educators, physicians, nurses, administrative and service personnel) would be one-quarter of the same nationality as the children and three-quarters of Swiss nationality. Each village would have cottages, a school, a church, a meeting-hall, workshops, gardens, and a medical-pedagogical center directed by specialists.

THE RIGHT TO REHABILITATION AND RE-EDUCATION

There will be very difficult cases which need special treatment, and we owe society and each individual child the best care and treatment we can offer. Our generation could not spare these children the horrors of war and persecution; we deprived them of the best years of their youth; we were unable to prevent the loss of their parents, their homes, and their beloved environment. We must at least make every effort to give them a chance to rehabilitate and develop their individual abilities and knowledge in the best interests of our society. Special institutions and occupational therapy will have a great role to play, and individual psychiatric treatment will often be necessary.

There is no monopoly on ideas or action. In this article we wish only to point to a very important problem we are now facing. The adjustment of the mangled postwar psyche of the youth of Europe to the culture customs and conceptions of civilized democratic mankind can be achieved despite the horrible traumata suffered by this psyche. It can be achieved by progressive individual and community education. Much will depend on what society, what customs, and what conceptions we can offer these young people to replace the horror of Hitlerism and fascism. Most of these youngsters, having suffered persecution and degradation, will seize upon any and all sorts of ideas with a wild passion and devotion. All the humiliation, despair, and doubt, all the fear and cowardice, insecurity, and longing for shelter, all the conviction of guilt and rejection, all the hatred and lust for revenge that these children have suffered and nursed within themselves, will with many be sublimated in some worship—the worship of democracy, of socialism, of communism, of Zionism, of nationalism for the country in which they find themselves, of pacifism, of heroic self-sacrifice. The educator must undertake the tremendous task of guiding and forwarding this process of sublimation and adjustment to reality.

Perhaps it will take decades of the most intensive effort of the best psychol-

ogists, sociologists, parents, guardians, educators, and teachers to achieve this restoration—the field cannot assign a more important task, a more painful or more wonderful task, to its workers. The task can and will be accomplished. We may draw confidence from the examples before us of children who have rebelled against their own social, psychic, and physical decline and of those who have responded readily to treatment and education offered with scientific knowledge, with understanding and love. There are very few cases of children, whatever their previous experiences, who are unable to master the “tyranny of the past” and start a new life, provided they are given halfway sensible treatment and education. The severe psychic traumata suffered by these children can either be forcibly repressed and suppressed and so create psychic oppressions or neuroses or antisocial aggressiveness that must burden the future of the individual or endanger the security of society, or they can be built into the keystone of a character elevated through “noble suffering” to an intensified love of life, to a stronger will to happiness—a happiness sought not as a prize gained at the expense of others but as a good built by the individual with his community and enjoyed by him with others.

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR WORLD YOUTH
NEW YORK

CHILDREN'S SERVICES IN THE COMMUNITY

ELSA CASTENDYCK

THE social problems of childhood have existed and been recognized and treated in varying degrees and ways in all ages of our civilization. Today, in the light of newer understanding of the importance of childhood experiences in relation to adult behavior and the complexities of our shifting civilization, these services assume a role of greater urgency and importance to the individual and to society as a whole than ever before. The widespread concern for children's problems shown during the war is only one of the many manifestations of growing community interest in the welfare of children. The burden of maintaining this interest rests upon all social workers and citizens in general, but a special obligation confronts child welfare workers and other professions dealing with children to improve their skills so that this opportunity for greater service will not be lost. It, therefore, seems timely to examine some of the aspects of child welfare work, in its broader sense, in social work as well as in other fields of endeavor that seem to indicate a need for re-examination of techniques and their application in practice.

Social services for children have long been recognized as specializations within the profession of social work. Formerly limited largely to the care of children separated from their parents or natural guardians, the concept has now been broadened to include the entire area of care and protection of children who are dependent, neglected, delinquent or in danger of becoming delinquent; who are socially or mentally handicapped; or

whose physical or moral welfare is endangered by conditions in their own home or in the community.

Child welfare work as a specialty emerged in recognition of the need for services related to the problems peculiar to children and was fostered by the need of finding ways to correct or alleviate them. Today it is an accepted principle that learning to live and grow to maturity is a continuous process beginning with birth and that conditions and personal contacts in every aspect of life affect the way the individual will feel, think, and act throughout life. Careful studies of the genesis of personality and behavior problems in childhood and maturity have broken down many ideological concepts, while the barriers established by these concepts between separate lines of endeavor have remained. If we recognize the realities of human growth and development, we cannot ignore the fact that the social worker, the teacher, the doctor, the nurse, the recreation worker, probation officers, and others share responsibility for overcoming any sense of isolationism that exists either within their profession, or individually, and of helping to clarify their respective responsibilities. Certainly, co-ordination of their efforts is needed if children are to be helped to grow to maturity as responsible and capable citizens.

The development of public welfare agencies and the growing assumption of responsibility by state welfare departments for leadership in the establishment of local units of child welfare work

and for their supervision has brought social work into closer relationship with other services for children. One example of this is the establishment by departments of education of state-wide programs of visiting teacher or school social work—Michigan and Virginia are now providing state grants-in-aid to local school units for the employment of visiting teachers and have established criteria of training and experience to insure the quality of service provided. Within the medical field, developments in psychosomatic medicine, the growing demand for medical social workers, and, perhaps more strikingly, the acceptance of psychiatric social workers in the medical corps of the armed forces and the establishment of a permanent unit to assure these in the armed forces, all contribute to the growing recognition of mutual interdependence and a need for clarifying the relationships of the various services.

Believing that the time had come to examine some of the attitudes and practices that created barriers to closer coordination of services for children and to find ways of overcoming them, the United States Children's Bureau set up a special project in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1936. In it the Children's Bureau placed its emphasis on the study of social services to all children with personality and behavior problems, however mild, and on ways of preventing the development of such problems. It had three general objectives: first, to study the problems confronted in the identification and treatment of children presenting personality and behavior problems; second, to study the problems involved in the development and integration of agencies and organizations concerned with children; and third, to study ways of interpreting to the community its needs in services to

children and of better integrating existing services.¹

Within the circumscribed area of the city selected for its work the project staff was able to become personally acquainted with the community and the people serving it. The restricted area limited intake and so enabled the staff to consider, beyond the usual limits of case studies, some of the factors within community agencies that influenced their work and jeopardized or encouraged smooth-working relationships. As the work progressed the staff was frequently aware of the "specifics" in basic philosophy and practice that accounted for differences in the feeling and attitudes that underlay particular service within the co-operating agency.

The following discussion is based largely upon the experience in St. Paul. Some of the problems encountered may be attributed to either the structural or the administrative patterns in St. Paul agencies, but not most of them, since St. Paul was selected for this study because it was a fairly typical urban community.² It had had a stable program of child welfare for approximately twenty years; the social agencies tended toward an emphasis on community mindedness rather than on agency mindedness; the services of the public welfare department were apparently more nearly adequate than those of many other cities; and the juvenile court, the probation officers, and the police department were interested in and welcomed an experiment organized in the field of juvenile delinquency. Nor should it be thought that professional jealousies, undue possessiveness of cer-

¹ See *Children in the Community—The St. Paul Experiment in Child Welfare* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 317; Washington, D.C., 1946).

² See *ibid.*, Appendix I, for detailed description of the community organization and resources in St. Paul.

tain prerogatives, or a tendency to relegate children to categorical labels was generally prevalent. On the contrary, the spirit shown by the majority of the professional workers in schools, by the social agencies, the police, and the court and their eagerness for assistance testify to the contrary.

Because the experience of an agency is inevitably influenced by its function and administration, it seems pertinent to describe in some detail not only the project's setting but also its staff, its clientele, and its methodology. Special consideration will be given to the relationships with the other community services with which it worked most intensively.

The composition of the staff and the training and experience of its members in working in a community setting were of great importance to the development of the project. The widely varying functions assigned to children's agencies and institutions in a community, as well as the differences in approach to children's problems made by several professions interested in child welfare, made it necessary that the project have a staff which was representative of each of these professions and familiar with their varied approaches. Only in this way could the contributions to be made by each agency in a co-ordinated approach be realistically assessed. Such a staff working under one administrative head was in a position to see at close range the difficulties involved in co-ordination and to develop procedures to overcome them. The full staff included the following members: a psychiatrist, who was the local director of the project; a psychologist, responsible for the psychological service and the program of evaluation; two case workers, one of whom assumed responsibility for contact with the police and courts; a group worker; and a school social worker

assigned by the community to work with the project.

The importance of the school in the child's life and the consequent need for school participation in any over-all program for children led the Children's Bureau to request some tangible evidence of the schools' interest in the project. Although there was no school social-work program in St. Paul and finances did not permit the appointment of school social workers to the department of education staff, an interest in such a program existed in both the schools and the community. As a result of this interest the Amherst H. Wilder Charity agreed to finance the salary of a school social worker to work closely with the project staff and to demonstrate school social work in St. Paul. This support was continued from September, 1937, to January, 1942.

During the entire period of work, which included approximately six and one-half years with partial staff and three years with the full staff, the project had 1,466 children registered for service. Of these, 739 were registered in the group activities only. The other 727 were from 535 families who received one or more of the individualized types of service available from the Community Service staff. They represented a group which includes cases comparable to those carried by other agencies in the community but which, viewed as a whole, has characteristics of its own due to the project's case-finding policies and special interests.

Some of the cases in this group are comparable to those carried by child-guidance clinics, where personal and social pathology are so closely interrelated that only skilled psychiatric diagnosis and treatment can meet the needs of the child. There were other cases, however, of children whose problems are much less

complicated and who are not generally found in child-guidance clinics—children who are basically stable but who need change in their environment to prevent its impeding their normal growth and development.

Although the group includes some cases of gross neglect, illegitimacy, and marked incorrigibility, the project's emphasis on early identification of children with behavior problems tended to weight the case load less heavily in these areas than would be normal in a protective agency whose responsibility for children was limited to these fields.

Of these 727 children, 22 per cent came from families that were receiving financial assistance outside of the home at least one-fourth of the time the case was active with the project and 5 per cent were in foster-homes during part of that time. The fact that the project did not give direct material assistance or provide foster-care limited the children known to it, whose families were receiving financial assistance, to those receiving such aid who were failing to make good adjustments, or to those who, in the course of treatment, showed need of financial aid or placement. However, service in such cases was always given in co-operation with other agencies that assumed responsibility for direct material relief and home-finding.

From the very beginning of its work the project operated with a flexible intake policy. Its interest in early identification of childhood problems and its desire to utilize all possible opportunities for interpretation of the significance of such behavior led to the acceptance for service of children showing a wide range of problem behavior varying also in depth and severity.

Irregular attendance at school, conflict with authority, and undesirable per-

sonality traits were the signs that all was not well with one child, while another showed his disturbance through academic difficulties, failure to observe routines and regulations, running away, and stealing. The individuals in this group, through their patterns of behavior, were showing that all was not well with their world. These children had called for help; they had, in the language of childhood, registered their disapproval of things as they were by failing in school, by fighting with other children, by defying adults, or by withdrawing into a world of fantasy that could be manipulated to their own liking.

As might have been expected, the place of work and the methods employed by the project also varied widely. As the project became better known in the neighborhood and to the schools and agencies, the referral of children with long-standing behavior problems in which the prognosis was poor gradually changed to include those children whose difficulties seemed less acute or annoying. The project's responsibility for the children in its area involved serving children in a variety of ways. For some an intensive treatment program was developed, for others the service was sometimes extremely limited.

Consultation and referral service to agencies not provided with a wide variety of specialized services became an important function. Agencies without psychiatric, psychological, or group-work service called upon the project to give consultation service in these fields and to recommend next steps in treatment. Parents, not knowing of all the services available in the city, called upon the project for advice and assistance in making contact with the appropriate agencies.

Requests would be made for consulta-

tion service or interviews with the child or parent for the purpose of making a diagnosis. The request might be for the psychologist to determine the child's intellectual capacity or for the psychiatrist to determine the significance and seriousness of the child's disturbed behavior.

With each child the project accepted a dual responsibility: first, to work out the best possible treatment program for the child himself and, second, to interpret to all individuals interested in the child the reasons for his difficulties and the progress or lack of progress being made in his treatment. The experience of taking an active part in the study and treatment of one child's behavior problems proved to be a telling appeal for the need of identifying and treating all children with problems. It also often provided to the project workers and community-agency staffs insight into the ways in which limitations of agency philosophy and functions, individual attitudes, and community pressures affected agency relationships.

Although emphasis was placed on work with the schools and the police, it was early recognized that there were other sources of referral in the community. Referrals by group-work and case-work agencies, including the project group workers and case workers, parents and other members of the family, the court, health agencies, churches, and interested individuals accounted for 29 per cent of the requests for service to the 727 treated by the project staff.

The interest of the police in studying the treatment of delinquency and in using administrative rather than authoritative measures led to the assignment of a project staff member to work with the police. The early appointment of a school social worker to work closely with the

project staff established a channel for referral by the schools and made possible continuous interpretation of children's needs and the project's facilities. It is, therefore, not surprising that these two community services made respectively 21 and 50 per cent of the total referrals.

COLLABORATION WITH SCHOOL SERVICES

Collaboration of any two or more professions calls for objective recognition of the limitations of all concerned. Effective concerted action is possible only when each organization and profession recognizes the part it plays and sees clearly what it alone can do and what other techniques and services are needed if the total needs of the child are to be met. Often the same basic difficulties are responsible for problems that come to different agencies and professions with different labels and symptoms. Family disorganization is revealed in school as a problem of truancy or academic maladjustment; in juvenile court as delinquency; in the pediatric clinic as malnutrition; and in the child-guidance clinic as neurotic behavior on the part of the child or his parent. What then are some of the barriers and misunderstandings that need to be removed to assure complete and harmonious co-ordination of services?

In the St. Paul project the Children's Bureau saw the schools as one of the most fruitful sources of early identification of problem behavior and treatment. For most children, entry to school life is their first experience with authority outside their home. For the average boy, his home—and particularly his mother—has set standards and applied methods of training and control that have been intensely meaningful in shaping his personality and social behavior. Mother and teacher may have different standards

and different methods. Now he must learn to accept the divided authority of parent and teacher. He must learn to share, to wait his turn for attention, and to use the opportunities of his broader horizons. To all children this presents new demands and frustrations. If his preschool years have not prepared him for these or if he has been emotionally damaged and deprived, these experiences may result in various forms of overt misbehavior or be so subtly disguised that the school alone detects them.

The school's role in the early identification of children's problems is, therefore, a vital one by virtue of the fact that the child actually lives a large portion of his life in school. The skilled and observing teacher has much to contribute. Her perspective, growing out of a relative emotional detachment, and her experience in observing the normal range of behavior in groups of children enables her to identify problems developing in the school setting which may not yet be apparent in the child's behavior at home or elsewhere. Where the precipitating factor in this behavior lies in the child's school experience, the teacher is in a position to recognize the behavior as indicative of something wrong and to help in tracing the chain of events leading to its manifestation. The importance of the schools in the total field of child welfare activities would be established if they were able to do nothing more than identify the child's problems at this point.

The school and the teacher play an equally important role in the treatment of childhood difficulties. As a rule, the school's interest is accepted by both the child and his parents. The parents, as citizens, have delegated to the school responsibility for certain phases of the child's development. They expect to be kept informed on his progress and to be

consulted about problems that arise during the hours in which their child is out of their care. The school is a basic service not limited to any group, and its interest does not necessarily label the child as a problem. Add to this the fact that social work as a profession postdates education by many years and does not have the prestige generally associated with the latter, and it can readily be seen why the school is in a strategic position in initiating and taking an active part in the treatment of behavior problems.

In their close contacts with the schools in the project area the staff members became acutely aware of both major and minor differences that sometimes cause close co-ordination to break down on the working level. Some of these grow out of differences in basic philosophy and in the administrative structures in which schools and social agencies work. Others may have their roots in early experiences and training, the results of which neither the teacher nor the social worker may recognize. Because these factors are not always faced realistically, it is important that they be given thorough consideration.

The differences in the structure of schools and social agencies must be recognized. A school is a highly organized institution with definitely established time schedules, routines, and staff duties. It is one unit in the closely integrated system of which it is a part. In comparison with the schools, the public and private child welfare agencies are not closely integrated. They represent many and varied programs with relatively great autonomy in determination of policy and procedures and decisions to accept or reject cases.

This lack of centralization in social agencies hampers co-ordination between schools and social agencies at an adminis-

trative level, for, while the superintendent is in a position to speak for the school system as a whole, there is no one person who represents all social agencies, public and private, and whose responsibility it is to interpret their functions and needs. The superintendent or teacher may be confused about the functions of individual agencies and have difficulty in arriving at a decision to refer a child in need of service to a particular social agency or in providing the agency representative with information about the child.

Failing to recognize the established lines of authority and administrative responsibility within schools and the inviolability of time schedules, the case worker may request consideration of situations or information which the superintendent or teacher has neither authority nor ability to give. For example: Conferences are often scheduled at times when the teacher, should she wish to do so, would be unable to attend. The case worker often calls at the school for information about a child without first learning the most convenient time for such a visit. She may arrive in the middle of a class period, in which case she must either obtain all the information from the principal and records or she must interrupt the teacher whose responsibility to her class prevents her from devoting her full attention to any one individual. Lack of understanding of the professional obligations of teachers and social workers may result in defensiveness and the drawing of sharp lines in defining responsibilities.

The school setting, with its disciplines, opportunities for recognition and granting of privileges, and the giving of support to individual children, is undoubtedly an asset in treatment. The social worker focuses her attention on the individual child's needs, but the teacher's responsi-

bility is for the whole group. That she must take immediate action when conformity to the minimum of group control is not observed is often misunderstood by the social worker. So, also, is the fact that the teacher, who, like the parent, lives with the child during a good part of the day, may be unable to view the child's problems as objectively as does the social worker, with her more limited contact, subjected to fewer distractions. On the other hand, the social worker may lose her objectivity on finding herself frustrated by obstacles in school procedure which she is convinced are a detriment to the progress of her client but which the teacher has no authority to change.

Each of us is affected by his own experiences. The teacher's or principal's experience may be limited to planning for the child in a family receiving relief or when overt neglect or delinquency occur; or she may have had an unhappy experience with social agencies. Even greater obstacles to co-operation may result from the feelings of distrust of schools arising out of the individual social worker's inability to establish good teacher-pupil relationships in her school years.

Differences in attitude and the irritations that they cause are not universal and do not apply to all agencies, schools, or the workers within them, but their presence beneath the surface in situations where tensions exist is too frequent to be ignored or passed over lightly. With organizations, as with individuals, the petty daily irritations, if unrecognized and ignored, may develop into deep-seated antagonism.

COLLABORATION WITH LAW-ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

In considering some of the barriers to effective collaboration of social-work and

law-enforcement agencies, we must again explore some of their basic differences in philosophy, administration, and attitudes. Here, as in the schools, tradition and public opinion still remain important forces. Happily, some of these have been, or are being, modified by newer concepts of human behavior and public responsibility, and the gaps between the professions are lessening.³ Like the social worker, law-enforcement officers accept the principle that public welfare is best served by studying the child and treating his individual needs with the purpose of redirecting him so that other offenses will not occur.

Obviously, action based on this philosophy results in less emphasis being placed on the particular offense that may have brought the child to the attention of the officer and shifts the focus to the total situation.

To some social workers the contribution of the police officers appears to be limited to their knowledge of and activity in regard to adverse community conditions such as the presence of delinquent gangs and low-class commercial recreation. In the St. Paul project they were an asset in the identification of children in need of treatment and in carrying through the treatment plan. It is true that the law-enforcement officer's contact with most children is relatively remote. Comparatively few children have direct contact with courts. Generally, such contacts and clashes with the police are indicative of a crisis in the child's life and are, therefore, particularly meaningful.

It is, of course, imperative that we

recognize that the primary function of the police and courts is the preservation of peace and a stable community life. Involved in this are the assurance of safety to the individual citizen, the protection of property, and the enforcement of laws. Society has delegated power and authority to the individual officer or court in the interests of social control. In exercising this control through the enforcement of laws and the arresting of individual offenders, the inevitable conflict of the interests of the group with the rights and interests of the individual and the consequent need of balancing of the delegated authority with privileges to the individual is readily apparent.

Like the schools, another arm of the government, the police and the courts are part of a highly integrated system operating within a definitely established legal structure and subject to centralized control and the force of public opinion.

In carrying out his responsibilities the law-enforcement officer often works under definite handicaps. The identification of the police with law enforcement and adult crime places limitations, particularly felt by those seeking to protect an individual offender. The association of officers with a system of detection, judgment, and punishment, however necessary or justified, carries with it connotations that violate social work concepts of freedom of choice and action.

In their day-by-day relations with the police and the courts, social workers are frequently aware of widely differing attitudes. Social workers often fail to recognize that the police and the courts are set up to investigate and handle cases within fairly definite time limits. The attempts of the officer "to establish the facts" are therefore inconsistent, in their timing and method, with the social worker's efforts to gain the confidence of the

³ See *Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Treatment of Juveniles and the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, compiled by the National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944). Pp. 60.

child or his family and to establish a relationship suitable for treatment. Furthermore, the police or probation officer frequently has to terminate his contact at the end of a given period without opportunity for study that might lead to the recognition of need for long-time treatment.

Not infrequently the officer's interest in the uniform treatment of all individuals implicated in an offense leads to the offense's assuming more importance than the child. On the other hand, the practice of giving the child "another chance" on the basis of not being "too hard on him," with the implication that if he fails to "make good" he has not been appreciated, places the full responsibility for his act upon the child without regard to the circumstances influencing it. The law-enforcing officer often looks with suspicion upon the social worker on the grounds that he is not "tough enough" on the delinquent; while the social worker, fearful that the police may be "too tough," may become overprotective of the child. The social worker with limited understanding of police and court obligations often fails to give helpful information to them in making plans with them, or to take into consideration their proper functions, obligations, and limitations. From experience with some inadequately equipped agencies the probation officer may develop a distrust of the ability or willingness of social workers to work directly with the child, which may lead him to refuse to delegate this responsibility even when there are indications that agency rather than court supervision is desirable.

Variation in the amount and kind of training given to policemen, probation officers, and social workers leads to marked differences in their attitudes toward behavior problems of children, the

responsibility of the child for his own acts, and the place of punishment in treatment. In the work of the St. Paul project it soon became apparent that recognition of the differences in background, the limitations of each agency, and the intangible attitudes arising from them lead to the development of mutual respect. Unless faced and discussed objectively on both sides, these attitudes may make it impossible to study and plan together for the best interests of the child.

The plan of assigning one member of the staff to contacts with law-enforcing agencies proved an effective means of uncovering many of the difficulties that arise in a closely co-ordinated program and also of meeting these difficulties. That a worker was selected who had already had some experience with law-enforcing agencies also proved a definite advantage. His background gave him a better understanding of both fields and made him more acceptable to both. From the beginning, the members of the law-enforcing staff were able to accept him as a person who, although identified with the project, a social agency, also understood law-enforcing agencies and their methods. Accepted by both groups, the worker was able to interpret the attitudes and obligations of one to the other and to aid both in adapting their methods to the interests of a co-operative program.

WORK WITH OTHER COMMUNITY AGENCIES

In the early development of the St. Paul project it was planned to work through already existing group-work and case-work agencies, the project itself serving to stimulate greater community interest and activity in such programs and to provide consultation service. Because the project staff included the social

workers who by previous experience and training were equipped to develop relations between the schools, the law-enforcement officers, and case-work agencies, the co-operative work in these areas progressed more rapidly than that with the group-work agencies. After some experimentation it became apparent that the project needed to develop a group-work service within its own staff similar to that in the case-work field. After an unfortunately long delay a group worker was added to the staff.

The co-operation with group-work agencies therefore was of shorter duration and, because of the variety and nature of special services provided by the project group worker, did not provide experience comparable to that with the schools, police, and court. Because the basic philosophy, administrative structure, and function of group work, though not always similar, are more nearly comparable to case work, it is possible to include both services in a discussion of differences in thinking and attitude that appeared in the course of co-operative work between agencies the focus of whose activities was always on the welfare of children.

Before discussing some of the barriers that existed in the project's collaboration with social agencies and the origin of these, it is necessary to consider the sources from which children were referred to the project and the factors that were influential in the causation of children's problems. Of the 727 children referred to the project for study or treatment, 542, or 74 per cent, were referred by the schools, the police, or the court; the remainder coming from community agencies, parents or family members, churches, or interested individuals.⁴

⁴ See *Children in the Community—St. Paul Experiment*, *op. cit.*

The predominance of referrals from the schools, the police, and the courts, whose services were concerned primarily with children, is of particular interest when considered in relation to the causal factors involved in the child's difficulty. To understand the basic difficulties and the action needed to remove or alleviate these, required an analysis of the causal factors. Occasionally the child's difficulties sprang from a single cause, but in most cases they could be traced to a number of factors. The children treated by the project were members of families subject to environmental pressures and the tensions and vagaries of family relationships. It is not surprising, therefore, that the study of causal factors in the problems of the 432 children who received intensive or limited treatment revealed that in 85 per cent of the cases family influences played an important part; nor is it surprising that personality deviations and economic influences figured in 76 and 36 per cent of the cases respectively.⁵

For children whose problems were due to material needs as well as to family influence and personality deviations, emphasis had to be placed on securing adequate financial assistance and improved conditions in the community and on the betterment of personal relationships.

Since the project did not provide material assistance to families, co-operative work was done with both public and private case-work agencies that gave service and economic assistance. Within this relationship it was possible to see some of the factors operating in a case-work service not specifically focused on children's problems that deflected the emphasis from them. Some of these obstacles were inherent in the nature of the social welfare structure; others were due

⁵ See Table 5 in *Children in the Community*, *op. cit.*

to the personality and inadequate or defective training of the workers involved.

The function of a social work agency finds its expression in, or is reflected in, its policies and procedures. The policies and procedures are designed to help both the client and the social worker and do not exist apart from the case-work process. In many cases the function of the agency undoubtedly served to direct the focus of case work toward other problems than those of the child, for example, problems of relief or of marital adjustment. Of the 727 children receiving service from the project, the families of 469 received service from other agencies during the time the project was active, and 253, or 35 per cent of the 727, were known to a case-work agency at the time the referral was made to the project. Yet, only 6 per cent of these 253 children were referred for service by the case-work agency itself. Study by the project revealed that in 57 per cent of the cases the agency active in the family situation did not know that the child was having difficulty in making an adjustment and in only 21 per cent of the cases was the agency aware of the child's problem.

But it is not possible to attribute such inadequacies in the recognition of the problems of the child to agency function alone. Some of these were the results of the personality and training of the worker. In the many conferences with case workers and during the in-service training carried co-operatively by the project staff and the public welfare agency, the agencies frankly admitted that they were not equipped to work with children. Some sought advice on how to talk with a child—how to get his own point of view rather than the point of view he thought would be approved by the adult—or sought information about child behavior and its significance. Others did not ap-

pear to recognize their inadequacies. Others lacked a genuine interest in and liking for children and an ability to view children's problems objectively, without excessive sentimentalism on the one hand or rigid and uncompromising attitudes on the other.

It should not be assumed from the above that all these case workers were necessarily deficient in professional training or in the use of skills required in the performance of their duties in the programs of the agencies of which they were members. On the contrary, it reaffirms the need for recognition of the special skills that are required in services to children. Herschel Alt, in discussing the importance of recognizing that problems of children in their own homes originate in difficult parent-child relationships, says:

In some situations treatment should be focused on the family as a unit, on opportunities for release of environmental pressure, on providing supporting relationships; in other situations, on direct psychological psychiatric treatment of one or more adults; and in others, on direct treatment of the child. To focus on the problem of the child, unless this is translated into an understanding of the basic problem and a decision as to specific treatment needed, is not sufficient. Perhaps service to children in their own homes calls for resources and skills which few agencies now possess by themselves.⁶

Social workers will readily agree that the case-work method is basic to work with individuals, whether in family agencies, schools, the police, or courts. Differences in practice required in meeting special problems or differing situations has resulted in the development of specialties within case work as a whole. Such differentiation has demanded addi-

⁶ For further discussion of this point see: "Report of the Committee on Relations of Family and Child Welfare Agencies," *Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America* (June, 1944).

tional skills and techniques that have enriched case-work practice. But, frequently, insufficient clarification of what is involved in the application of these skills has raised barriers or created confusion. Specialization is not an end in itself. It defeats its own purposes unless it strengthens the service to the client.

How, then, can we break down or at least lower the barriers that exist between the various services to children? In our experience in St. Paul protectiveness and possessiveness of the specialization and of the child on the part of teachers, law-enforcement officers, and social workers, including child welfare workers, was frequently apparent. In social work, specialization often has its roots deep in the past. In contrast to the field of science, for example, medicine, where specialization is based on additional training and resulting superior skills, social work specialization is often an outgrowth of nonprofessional practice where the worker was asked to do a particular job. Professional child welfare work, emerging as it has from the need of protecting neglected and homeless children, can be cited as an illustration. Is it not possible that the protectiveness that exists here and in other specialties is a hangover from the past?

Useful as the recognition of traditional practices and attitudes will be, that alone is not enough. We need further definition and articulation of the knowledge and skill required in each specialization and the improvement of these if the contributions of each specialization are to be used and welded into a harmonious and effective service for children.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ST. PAUL STUDY

The St. Paul project was based on the philosophy that each child must be treated as a whole and his problems as a

unit regardless of the number of problems or the areas of his life affected. This philosophy can be made meaningful to the child when there are adequate and effectively co-ordinated community services. Did its day-by-day experience result in practical findings and measures that help to resolve the variations in philosophy, agency structure, and attitudes? Certainly it reaffirmed the findings of other programs of co-ordination that there is no royal road to immediate and smooth-working agency relationships and that to expect immediate maximum efficiency is to court disaster. But the obstacles can be eliminated or removed when community agencies recognize that the origins of these are varied and sometimes obscure.

Co-ordination of services cannot be achieved unless carried on simultaneously at the executive and staff levels. It may, and frequently does, involve changes in policy which need the authorization of the governing body and the executive. But, however well the plan is conceived and the responsibility for implementing it assumed by the executive, the final test is the relationships of the individual workers; and unless conflicts on the working level are resolved it is doomed to failure. The social worker, intent on securing special consideration for a particular child, is impatient with the teacher and fails to recognize her responsibility to the entire group in her care or her inability to change schedules and routines. The police officer, preoccupied with protection of the community and subjected to pressure for speedy action, with limited knowledge of the mechanisms of human behavior, sees the social worker as "soft" and as blocking his path to "clearing up a case." And multiplicity of social agencies, operating under several administrations, add confusion to

distrust. These complexities are not limited to child welfare services. Florence J. Ellis, in her recent discussion of the special factors involved in working with the sex delinquent, points out the importance of recognizing the time factor and preventing a lag in social treatment and the responsibility of social agencies to interpret the nature of these services and to admit the limitations of case-work treatment.⁷ The importance of their understanding and the value of their interpretation to the planning and executive bodies cannot be overestimated. This is apparent when it is recognized that the process of co-ordination brings in its wake threats and conflicts to both agencies and individual workers.

But even these conflicts can be overcome if mutual respect for agency programs and individuals is established. The old adage "Familiarity breeds contempt" does not hold good when familiarity is based on an objective acceptance of the limitations imposed on colleagues and co-workers. And since social work and other professional training should assure or at least increase objectivity and a nonjudgmental attitude, mutual respect is not something to be devoutly sought but never achieved. In St. Paul the device of using liaison workers understanding the background and philosophy of

two fields, such as education and social work, social work and law enforcement, case work and group work, was found useful in bringing about an effectively co-ordinated program. In making an adequate diagnosis of the problem, referring it to the appropriate agency, and helping that agency to see its function in relation to the others, misunderstandings were usually reduced to a minimum; and this helped create tolerance and mutual respect.

The St. Paul experiment confirmed the belief that short cuts do not exist nor are there fixed patterns that can be followed. The strengths and weaknesses of basic community and specialized services will vary.

These variations and the patterns of organization that exist in the community will determine the course to be followed. The complexities of integrating services for children that operate under separate administrations, each with its own traditions and philosophy exemplified in the educational and personal experiences of all personnel, are not insurmountable. Teachers, social workers, and law-enforcement officers, comprehending that the realities of human growth and functioning would be violated if isolation of services prevailed, sought the means of achieving the common goal of effective assistance to children.

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⁷ See "Can Social Work Help the Sex Delinquent?" *News-letter of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers*, XV, No. 3 (winter issue, 1945-46), 44-51.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION IN WISCONSIN

WALTER A. MORTON

THE social cost of unemployment is the product that is lost through failure to work, and, when no provision is made for sharing this loss, it is carried entirely by the owners of the idle factors. Until recent times the loss of wages by the worker was borne by himself and his family until he reached a state of destitution, when he became the recipient of charity and local relief. The passage of the Social Security Law in August, 1935, was, accordingly, recognition on a national scale that the cost of unemployment should not be carried solely by the worker or by charitable and local relief agencies but should be paid for, in part at least, out of funds accumulated by employer contributions.

It is the purpose of this article to see how far present-day unemployment insurance has achieved its objectives, by analyzing the workings of a typical system—that of Wisconsin. It has been said that there is no national unemployment compensation system, the laws of the various states differing from one another in various ways and being conceived on no common basic pattern.¹ Analysis of the general effect of these laws would therefore require an examination state by state. It is possible, however, to study a typical system in order to see how it has worked and how it might be made to function better. Such a system is found in Wisconsin, whose law antedates the federal law by three years. The Wisconsin law is, moreover, fairly repre-

sentative because its principle of merit rating and individual reserve accounts has been followed in most other states (with the notable exception of New York), though the conclusions presented here should not be applied to other state systems without further verification in each instance.

Various theories have been adduced in support of unemployment insurance or compensation, whatever it may be called, and, although there is lack of agreement regarding its purposes and objectives, they may be classified under three heads: (1) prevention of unemployment; (2) relief for the unemployed and stabilization of consumer demand; (3) reallocation of tax burdens created by relief costs.

I

The theory that unemployment could be prevented by a system of unemployment compensation was a product of Wisconsin. Professor John R. Commons had favored unemployment insurance on humanitarian grounds long before its enactment. During the 1921 depression he witnessed the exodus from the industrial centers of unemployed workers who had previously been drawn there by the war and postwar high wage rates, and the preventive idea took more definite shape in his mind. This disturbance in the labor market, he believed, might be less in the future if manufacturers made an effort to stabilize their working force, rather than hiring and dismissing employees almost without regard for the social conse-

¹ Edwin E. Witte, "Development of Unemployment Compensation," *Yale Law Journal*, December, 1945, p. 21.

quences. From this it seemed to follow that a tax on unemployment would have a stabilizing tendency, and so eventually the contention that unemployment compensation would prevent unemployment was added to the arsenal of arguments used to promote the Wisconsin law.

As usually happens, the arguments made were not clearly defined and were also tinged with an element of political expediency. In 1932 the subject was new in this country, and theories regarding it were still in a nascent state. The British and Continental European systems, moreover, were at that time in disrepute, being said to have encouraged unemployment by adding to the immobility of labor and unwillingness to take the wage cuts that many believed necessary to insure a greater volume of employment.

The preventive idea finds legislative expression in merit rating or experience rating and individual reserve funds, which embody the principle that contributions toward the cost of unemployment shall be borne by employers in direct proportion to the amount of unemployment attributable to their individual establishments. The idea was spawned in Wisconsin, and its progeny has found a welcome in most other states as they enacted laws to conform to the Social Security Act.

The great willingness of legislatures in the various states to accept the prevention theory may be explained in part by the political pressure exerted by those employers who hope to benefit from it, but it is also due to the belief that this doctrine is founded upon valid economic analysis. At least, this seems to have been true when unemployment compensation was first proposed. The theory of income and employment had not then been developed as fully as it came to be

in subsequent years, and the central forces causing business fluctuations, though familiar to economists, were not widely appreciated by the general public. At first, merit rating and individual reserve funds were espoused as a general device to prevent unemployment regardless of its nature and origin, but as soon as this theory underwent scrutiny it became apparent that legislation founded upon it could have little effect on cyclical, secular, or structural unemployment. Indeed, in so far as it had any preventive qualities at all, it could affect only the unemployment occasioned by seasons and irregularities, and even in these instances it was shown that the Wisconsin law would be ineffective as a stabilization device and defective as a relief measure,² a view confirmed by subsequent experience.³

It is, of course, theoretically possible to put such a penalty on a reduction in the work force as to make labor virtually an overhead cost, but such a tax, while inducing stability of employment, might also reduce drastically the total volume of employment and be an impediment rather than an aid to high-level employment. In practice, therefore, the levy of 3 per cent of the pay roll is an addition to marginal cost which is too small to offset other costs and risks determining secular structural and cyclical movements in employment.⁴ Even its effect upon seasonal instability is conjectural.

² See Walter A. Morton, "The Aims of Unemployment Insurance with Especial Reference to the Wisconsin Act," *American Economic Review*, September, 1933, p. 395. For criticism of this view see John R. Commons, *Institutional Economics* (New York, 1934), pp. 840-73.

³ See various reports of Social Security Board, and Charles A. Myers, "Experience Rating in Unemployment Compensation," *American Economic Review*, June, 1945, p. 337, and literature there cited.

⁴ Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 402-8.

As a consequence, some proponents of the Wisconsin type law have gradually altered their position. For the doubtful economic argument that this law prevents unemployment has been substituted the legalistic view that the employer is not "responsible" for unemployment unless he creates it directly, and the administration of the law has come to be an attempt to fix legal responsibility for the unemployment of some particular worker upon some particular employer. This is what may now be designated as the pure theory of merit rating.

Because of the direct savings to employers resulting from a diminution of claims against their reserve accounts, many employers have sought and obtained from compensation departments narrow and legalistic interpretations of responsibility. Unemployed workers have often suffered simply because they could not prove that the responsibility legally rested upon the employer, and the rules emerging have lost sight of the fact that what the worker needs is compensation regardless of his ability to fasten upon some employer the precise cause of his joblessness.⁵

This experience has caused labor to ask for laws and rulings that would divorce the question of unemployment compensation from that of responsibility for unemployment and to urge the enactment of legislation that would not sacrifice the relief qualities of these laws to their presumed attributes as stabilization devices. So far as labor is concerned, it would have little objection to the existence of experience rating if it were able to get the same relief as could be obtained from a pooled type of law, but hitherto this does not seem to have been possible.

⁵ See Arthur J. Altmeyer, "Undermining Unemployment Insurance," *Survey*, January, 1944.

Under experience rating, benefits have been held down, and the actual burden of relief has been shifted to other units of government.⁶

As we shall also see below, the effect of the principle of experience rating has accordingly not been to achieve employment stability but to lessen the contribution to unemployment relief by those industries that are stable because of their inherent market characteristics and to increase the costs borne by unstable industry and by other taxpayers in the community.

II

What should determine the standard of relief furnished the unemployed? Prior to unemployment compensation the family of an unemployed worker simply drew upon their savings, used credit, and begged and borrowed from friends and relatives. It was only after they had reached a state of financial exhaustion that they became a responsibility of the local community under the "poor laws." The amount of relief furnished under these laws varied by community, but it was always close to the subsistence level.

Unemployment compensation has been inserted as an intermediate step between employment and destitution. Claimants are paid various amounts for a given maximum period of weeks, depending on the laws of the several states.

Inasmuch as actual payments are a percentage (about half) of weekly wages with a specified maximum, the average payments have increased recently with the rise in wages from a former \$10 per week to about \$15 and appear still to be

⁶ See William Haber and J. J. Joseph, "An Appraisal of the Federal-State System of Unemployment Compensation: The Need for a Federal Plan," *Social Service Review*, XV (June, 1941), 216-26.

rising.⁷ They were, however, considerably below the schedule proposed in the Kilgore bill presented to the United States Senate in the summer of 1945. This proposal, calling for a maximum of \$25 per week for twenty-six weeks, was defeated, with the collaboration of the state unemployment compensation administrators, largely because of the feeling of its opponents that this amount was excessive. In Wisconsin the State Unemployment Compensation Department also opposed the Mullen amendment (spring of 1945) to the state law, which would have raised compensation standards by raising the maximum to \$24 per week, extending the number of weeks, and making allowance for dependents.

In general, the amount now paid is inadequate to maintain families according to prevailing standards, but it still has been large enough so that local communities have not provided additional relief. This now must wait until compensation payments cease, savings are exhausted, and the unemployed become destitute. Since about half the unemployed remained without jobs after they had exhausted their benefits during the 1930's, they became a charge upon the local community in which they had legal settlement. In Wisconsin the duty of providing general relief is fixed by statute upon local governments and must be financed by them.

Last year this writer proposed to a conference of social workers that an unemployment compensation system should be devised to furnish relief to the industrially unemployed so long as they remain unemployed. Instead of having two systems, unemployment compensation

and local relief, these ought to be integrated into a single system designed to provide compensation for the involuntarily unemployed for as long as they remain without jobs. This would leave to "poor relief" the remaining portion of relief cases due to personal causes and not falling under the categories covered by aids to the aged, blind, and dependent children.

What type of administrative organization this would call for is beyond the purview of the present article, but it would require the best experience and knowledge of both welfare workers who have dealt with relief problems and compensation administrators conversant with unemployment.

Past experience, moreover, seems to indicate that the preponderance of what has been hitherto designated as "poor relief" is due to industrial involuntary unemployment. This fact has somehow been given inadequate weight by those who tend to lay stress upon the personal rather than the impersonal causes of poverty and dependency. Furthermore, what starts out as industrial unemployment may become personal unemployment when workers become poverty stricken, thoroughly demoralized, and sick in mind and body. As students of social work have so much stressed in recent years, what is too often needed as a remedy is not the ministrations of a case worker or a psychiatrist but a job!

A measure of relief due to unemployment may be obtained by comparing the volume of relief during a year of full employment, like 1944, with one of mass unemployment, like 1938. In 1938 the amount expended in Wisconsin by all agencies for unemployment compensation and relief was \$90,000,000, whereas in 1944 it was only \$2,000,000. The difference of \$88,000,000 is then a rough

⁷ For state coverage provisions, see Appendix to Herman Gray, *Should State Unemployment Insurance Be Federalized?* (American Enterprise Association, March, 1946).

measure of the burden created by industrial employment as distinguished from the relief occasioned by purely personal causes. Of the total load of \$90,000,000 in 1938 only about 10 per cent was borne by unemployment compensation, the balance falling on the federal and local governments.

Opposition to an integrated system of unemployment compensation rests partly on tradition and partly on theoretical reasons regarding the responsibility for such relief. If the unemployed were provided for out of a single fund, the financial burden upon local government would be lessened and placed upon agencies with broader sources of revenue. Moreover, some believe that the threat of destitution should be held over workers to prevent malingering. This is done by limiting unemployment compensation to a brief period, after which the worker is faced with starvation or at best a low relief standard.

The view that the relief of the unemployed should be continued as at present is set forth by one of the earliest workers in the field of unemployment compensation.⁸ Elizabeth Brandeis believes that responsibility for unemployment should be divided between the compensation departments and poor relief and that poor-relief standards should be lower than compensation standards. This is the essence of what this author designates as the "functional theory" of social security, which is contrasted with what is called the "distributional theory" advocated by Sir William Beveridge, the Social Security Board, the A.F. of L., and the C.I.O. For the purposes at hand, it appears that the functional theory seems to be experience rating and the

Wisconsin type law, whereas the distributional theory is that unemployment compensation should compensate the unemployed and thereby help maintain the level of income. Miss Brandeis says: "Proponents of a distributional approach to social security have been greatly concerned because relief payments, especially in some states, were so far below unemployment compensation benefits or WPA wages. From the functional point of view, [i.e., the view of Miss Brandeis], such differences were necessary and desirable. If social security is to function as part of a going economic system, not as an isolated refuge from that system, payments for work or benefits that constitute an earned right should be higher than relief payments."⁹

It is not clear just why the principle of merit rating requires that those on relief must get less than they are paid while on unemployment compensation. In twenty-nine states minimum unemployment benefits are \$5.00 per week or less regardless of the size of the family.¹⁰ Why does the application of the functional theory require that relief payments should be less than this amount? The theory advanced by Miss Brandeis is also in conflict with the present standards of legislation in Wisconsin, which require that families on relief be maintained according to prevailing standards of health and decency, which, in some cases at least, actually requires higher expenditures than are received while on compensation. If anything, relief standards probably need to be higher than compensation standards, because while on compensation families still have a little money left over from previous periods of employment and their household, clothes, and larder are not yet depleted.

⁸ Elizabeth Brandeis, "What Road Is Forward in Social Security?" chap. iii in *Problems of the Postwar World*, ed. T. C. T. McCormick (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62 and 63.

¹⁰ See Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Such a harsh policy might, however, be tolerated if it were necessary. But it is not necessary. Since joblessness is created by lack of effective demand, it clearly cannot be overcome by lowering demand still further. The only justification for such a policy seems to be that it is preparing labor for a cut in wages, but at this stage in our economic development there are few who would determine wage policy by such means.

That compensation should be higher than relief because the former is an "earned right" is not an economic argument but a moral principle, and as such it rests on shaky foundations; for an earned right is simply what the law defines it to be. If the law defines the earned right of a worker to be \$10 per week for ten weeks, that is what it is; but it also could define it as \$30 per week for the total duration of unemployment, and that also would be an "earned right" which would make relief by the local community unnecessary. What this argument comes to is that, under merit rating, standards must be low and that, because they are low, relief standards must be lower. This implication is clearly a *non sequitur*. On the contrary, the lower the unemployment compensation standards, the sooner will people reach the relief rolls and the greater will be their need for relief. Under modern conditions the unemployed do not consume past production; they consume such current production as they have purchasing power to demand. It is merely a question of how much effective demand we wish them to exercise.

It may be suggested that the marginal productivity of the unemployed worker, which in practice is his weekly wage, should ordinarily be the upper limit of unemployment compensation because it is the effective demand which he can

exercise without encroaching upon the product created by others. In order to make work more attractive than leisure it may be necessary in practice to make compensation standards (except for those in the very low-paid groups) only half or two-thirds of this amount, as experience dictates. The higher the compensation, the greater will be the need to prevent malingering, to provide for labor mobility, and, in cases of prolonged unemployment of individuals, to make a reasonable definition of what constitutes "suitable employment" under the circumstances. But these are largely matters of administration and not of economic principle.

The view that relief standards should be low also overlooks the part played by unemployment compensation and relief in stabilizing the demand for consumption goods when capital investment recedes. Without compensation, a fall in employment in the capital goods industries must be immediately transmitted to a lower demand for consumption goods and thus reduce employment there with its collateral and cumulative effects. Adequate unemployment compensation, on the other hand, will tend to offset this secondary downward swing. The real social cost of either relief or compensation is nil, except for wear and tear, for it is paid out of the work of men and machines that would otherwise be idle. Under these circumstances it is hard to make much of the argument for a descending hierarchy of standards, particularly one which has at the top the very modest payments that are made possible out of a fund accumulated from pay-roll contributions according to the merit-rating principle.

We conclude, therefore, that unemployment compensation is failing in its main purpose if it does not provide ade-

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quate relief and help to maintain effective demand during a business recession. To this end it should be integrated with relief, so as to maintain the unemployed for the duration of their joblessness at a level which takes into account the marginal productivity of the worker, the need for providing flexibility and mobility, and the relative attractiveness of work and leisure. The present hiatus between unemployment compensation and relief for the jobless has, accordingly, no justification economically or administratively.

III

One of the early arguments made for an unemployment compensation system was that, besides establishing a systematic and orderly method of relief, it would take a large part of the financial burden from local and state governments. In so far as present compensation systems assume the relief load, they also reallocate relief costs, and in so far as they fail to do this, dual or tripartite systems of administration and financial responsibility must be continued.

The relief load became especially onerous after the first two years of the great depression. By 1932 unemployment was widespread, and many families had exhausted their savings and their credit. Local governments, facing financial exhaustion, asked for state and federal relief, which was later furnished, both directly and by making available financial assistance to local communities. After 1933 the part played by the federal government through F.E.R.A. and W.P.A. was greater than all other agencies combined. In Wisconsin unemployment compensation did not begin to pay benefits until 1936. The measure of relief afforded by this institution can therefore best be seen by comparing it with

other agencies during this period of unemployment, ending with the year 1942.

Table 1, entitled "Cost of Unemployment Relief to Various Governmental Units in Wisconsin, 1936-42," shows the total cost of general relief, work relief, and unemployment compensation in Wisconsin. It does not include other social security programs—aid to the blind, aged, and dependent children—and is therefore a good, though not perfect, picture of the costs due to unemployment alone.

Table 1 shows that the total cost of unemployment in the form of general relief and work relief (W.P.A.) in the state of Wisconsin was \$470,000,000. This cost was distributed among the various governmental units as follows: federal government, 59 per cent; state government, 3 per cent; local government, 32 per cent; and the Unemployment Compensation Fund, 6 per cent.

The significant fact, for our purposes, is that unemployment compensation was such an insignificant factor in absorbing this cost. The reasons for this, though beyond our present purview, may be mentioned briefly: the small number of workers eligible for compensation; the small amount of compensation; and the limited duration of benefits. The first factor is being corrected by the period of full employment which has now persisted for four years. The other two have also been improved. The fact still remains, however, that the income of the Wisconsin fund (as also most others) was greater than its outgo and that it reduced income by cutting employers' contributions during this period and even so accumulated a surplus.

In some states the relief burden is paid by excise and sales taxes, in others by income and property taxes or a combination of these sources. In Wisconsin, how-

ever, about 90 per cent of general relief costs are borne by the local community and are raised by levies on general property.

Despite the heavy federal outlays, local government relief expenditures rose from about \$4 million in 1930 to \$28 million in 1938, when the Unemployment Compensation Law was in full effect. During the period 1936-42 total general relief expenditures of local government were

TABLE 1*
COST OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF TO VARIOUS
GOVERNMENTAL UNITS IN WISCONSIN
1936-42
(In Millions of Dollars)

| Year | Total Cost | Federal Govern- ment | State Govern- ment | Local Govern- ment | Unem- ploy- ment Compensation |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1936..... | 83.1 | 63.0 | 3.0 | 17.0 | .1 |
| 1937..... | 64.2 | 41.3 | 1.8 | 19.0 | 2.1 |
| 1938..... | 80.8 | 55.3 | 2.0 | 23.0 | 0.5 |
| 1939..... | 81.7 | 47.7 | 2.0 | 28.4 | 3.6 |
| 1940..... | 69.4 | 35.9 | 1.6 | 28.4 | 4.5 |
| 1941..... | 53.6 | 26.7 | 1.2 | 22.8 | 2.9 |
| 1942..... | 28.2 | 11.1 | .8 | 12.2 | 4.1 |
| Total.... | 470.0 (100%) | 281.0 (59%) | 12.4 (3%) | 150.8 (32%) | 26.8 (6%) |

* Condensed data compiled from reports of Department of Public Welfare and Department of Unemployment Compensation. In addition, the federal government spent \$262 million on P.W.A., C.C.C., etc., in the period 1933-42 and the state government \$6.8 million.

\$72.8 million and work relief, \$78.3 million, making a total of \$151.1 million. Total general property tax levies were \$743 million. From this we may conclude that 20 per cent of all general property-tax levies were used for unemployment relief; or, putting it in another way, the unemployment relief costs raised general property taxes 25 per cent above what they would have been if this load had been borne entirely by unemployment compensation. Total real estate taxes were about 90 per cent of total general property taxes, so that it is fair to conclude that about \$20 million annually was added to the tax on real estate during this period.

Although the present housing scarcity could not have been then anticipated, building construction was at a low level during this period and a 25 per cent addition to the tax cost of carrying a building provided another deterrent to new construction. This record shows that even during a period of unemployment the relief burden was so allocated as to retard further employment in the building trades. This is one among several reasons that the future burden of unemployment should not again be imposed upon improvements in real estate, as distinguished from taxes on the site value of land alone. Under the conditions existing during the depression years these financial practices were burdensome to the low-income groups that paid property taxes, and also tended to lower income and employment and thus contribute to the prolongation of depression.

It is an indication of how an agency of government can judge its success by rather narrow standards that the Department of Unemployment Compensation has been proud of this record. For, on its face, this department appears to be a financial success; its receipts have been larger than its outgo, and a surplus was accumulated even while the rate of contributions was being reduced. What was not mentioned was that the property taxpayer was paying the bulk of relief costs not paid for by the federal government.

The system of experience rating provides for reductions in contributions of the individual firm whose reserve account rises to a prescribed level because of favorable employment experience. Hence firms who discharge few workers that do not find subsequent employment will have the lowest rates.

The maximum rate being 2.7 per cent (0.3 per cent being collected for ad-

ministration), the loss of revenue to the fund is measured by the difference between this amount and the actual rate multiplied by the pay roll. Under this system the rates in Wisconsin since 1938 have been reduced greatly below the 2.7 per cent permitted by law.¹¹

Table 2 gives average employer tax rates under normal experience rating and under the war-risk and special postwar reserves contributions. Experience rating has resulted in an estimated loss of \$84,066,000 since it first became operative in Wisconsin. However, institution in 1943 of the war-risk and special reserve contributions brought in additional revenue totaling \$32,548,000, or 39 per cent of the reduction that would otherwise have been sustained. The net loss to the Wisconsin fund, therefore, over the seven years of experience rating, approximates roughly \$52,000,000.

Or, to use the current data: The amount of contributions that would have been due during 1945 at a uniform tax rate of 2.7 per cent, based on estimated 1945 taxable pay roll, is \$36,127,000. The amount of contributions due on 1945 taxable wages under the experience-

rating and war-risk provisions is estimated at \$26,213,000. The loss of income attributable to experience rating was therefore about \$13,000,000.

The average employer tax rate for rated accounts was as follows: 1940, 1.61 per cent; 1941, 1.41; 1942, 1.37; 1943,¹² 1.27; 1944,¹³ 0.95; 1945,¹⁴ 0.87.

This average includes a large number of accounts that paid from 0 per cent to 1 per cent as follows: 1940, 60.5 per cent; 1941, 65.5; 1942, 66.1; 1943, 68.3; 1944, 78.7; 1945, 82.2.

Altogether, these figures show that experience rating has drastically reduced the revenues of the compensation fund. It also makes the burden unequal between industries and between firms in the same industry.¹⁵ The 1941 contribution rates illustrate this working of the law. In this year 23.9 per cent of the accounts comprising 24.9 per cent of 1940 pay roll had a contribution rate of zero; 41.2 per cent of firms and 42.3 per cent of pay roll, a rate of 1 per cent; 26.0 per cent of firms and 27.2 per cent of pay roll, the standard rate of 2.7 per cent; and 8.9 per cent of firms comprising 5.6 per cent of pay roll, higher than the standard rate.¹⁶ The experience of subsequent years is quite similar.

The analysis of these firms by industrial classification discloses that those making the lowest contributions are operating in what have always been known to be stable lines. The electric power, telephone, and gas utilities, banks, financial companies, real estate, and publishing trades have the lowest contribution rates, whereas the higher

¹¹ The average rate of contributions collected from covered Wisconsin employers on their covered pay rolls was 2 per cent for the period July 1, 1934, through December 31, 1937. Meanwhile, the federal unemployment tax rate was 1 per cent for 1936 and 2 per cent for 1937, so that the general rate collected in other states was only 0.9 per cent for 1936 and 1.8 for 1937. For 1938 the federal tax rate became 3 per cent, so that the general rate collected by the states for 1938 also rose, to 2.7 per cent, corresponding to the 90 per cent credit under the federal tax. For 1939 and the next few years, in view of the substantial reserves already accumulated by this state during the preceding years, Wisconsin's average rate of contribution collections declined. It was 2.11 per cent for 1939, 1.92 for 1940, and 1.61 for 1941. Wisconsin's collections then averaged 1.75 per cent on 1942 pay roll, 2.53 on 1943 pay roll, and 3.04 on 1944 pay roll. The average rate collected on 1945 pay roll is not yet available, but it will be substantially lower than 1944, in view of Wisconsin's mounting reserves. This rate reduction saved employers about \$40,000,000 from 1938 to 1943.

¹² These figures exclude war-risk contributions and "postwar reserve" tax of 0.5 per cent.

¹³ "Experience Rating in Wisconsin, 1940," *Social Security Bulletin*, February, 1941, p. 17, and data compiled by the Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Department.

¹⁴ Table 302.3 of *Unemployment Compensation Statistics* (Industrial Commission of Wisconsin).

rates are paid by mining, the construction industries, and manufacturing (except foods), which have always been subject to wider fluctuations in output and employment.¹⁵

In brief, if employment stability is the measure of a meritorious management, the highest merit goes to monopolistic industry, to large firms, and to those whose output and demand is relatively stable seasonally and cyclically.

ucts locally. It should be cautioned that this is not a planned result but rather a consequence of the nature of the merit-rating principle which penalizes industries subject to fluctuation in demand. Some firms making products that are sold in national markets may have a stable output and low rates. Others, like those engaged in metal manufacturing, seem to be unstable because durable goods are more subject to major fluctua-

TABLE 2*
AVERAGE EMPLOYER TAX RATE UNDER EXPERIENCE RATING, TAX RATE RESULTING FROM "WAR-RISK" AND "POSTWAR RESERVE" CONTRIBUTIONS, AND ESTIMATED LOSS IN REVENUE, WISCONSIN, 1939-45

| YEAR | AVERAGE EMPLOYER TAX RATE UNDER— | | ESTIMATED REDUCTION IN REVENUE UNDER EXPERIENCE RATING | | ADDITIONAL REVENUE FROM WAR-RISK AND POSTWAR RESERVE CONTRIBUTIONS | *NET LOSS IN REVENUE FROM REGULAR 2.7 CONTRIBUTION RATE | |
|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| | Experience Rating | War-Risk and Postwar Reserve† Contributions | Amount (In Thousands) | Per Cent | | Amount (In Thousands) | Per Cent |
| 1939..... | 2.0 | ..... | \$ 4,142 | 43 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1940..... | 1.6 | ..... | 6,481 | 40 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1941..... | 1.49 | ..... | 9,975 | 45 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1942..... | 1.55 | ..... | 12,408 | 43 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1943..... | 1.79 | 2.53 | 11,729 | 34 | \$ 7,215 | \$- 4,514 | -13 |
| 1944..... | 1.6 | 2.8 | 15,191 | 41 | 16,572 | + 1,381 | + 4 |
| 1945‡..... | 1.0 | 2.1 | 24,140 | 63 | 8,761 | -15,379 | -41 |

* Although experience rating became effective in January, 1938, the average contribution rate in 1938 was 2.7 per cent.

† War-risk contributions and a special "postwar reserve" tax of 0.5 per cent, effective 1943-45.

‡ Preliminary.

So long as the rate charged can vary by states, no one state can put costs upon industry not borne by competitors in other states. For that reason, proposed increases in benefits in the several states meet with resistance on the ground that they would burden firms in interstate competition. But what we have just said regarding the distribution of contributions seems to indicate that the merit-rating system in Wisconsin places a heavier burden on manufacturing, which is generally subject to interstate competition, than on banks, newspapers, and utilities who sell their services and prod-

tions in demand. Construction, on the other hand, is an example of a local industry that has large employment fluctuations.

On the whole, it seems fair to conclude that differences in the stability of employment between firms are not so much the consequences of managerial policy as they are of the internal nature of an industry and the character of market demand for its product. Bankers and utility operators are not better managers than miners and manufacturers. They happen to have more stable lines of work.¹⁶

¹⁵ Data of Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Also *Social Security Yearbook*, 1943, p. 140.

¹⁶ See Haber and Joseph, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25 and literature cited there.

Returning to the distribution of unemployment costs (not paid for by the federal government), it is clear that it must be paid for under Wisconsin law by the property taxpayers and the unstable employer. If this load is to be shifted from real property to the compensation fund, it must be put upon the unstable employers who are predominantly engaged in industries subject to interstate competition. Meanwhile the stable employers, having about a fourth of the total pay rolls, would escape without additional contributions. Attempts, therefore, to increase unemployment compensation benefits to cover the entire cost of unemployment accordingly meet with resistance from these firms and probably cannot succeed so long as funds are raised predominantly by levies made under experience-rating principles.¹⁷

This seems to be the reason that labor almost everywhere is opposed to experience rating and employers favor it. There is also a growing recognition that stable employment grows out of national policies and conditions, the nature of par-

¹⁷ In the 1945 session of the Wisconsin legislature, attempts to raise standards of unemployment compensation were defeated. These attempts were not sponsored by the Unemployment Compensation Department, which usually proposes such legislation, and received no support from that department. Assemblyman Earl Mullen introduced amendment to increase weekly benefits about 20 per cent, making the highest benefit \$24 per week; to make a \$2 per person allowance for dependents up to \$6 per week; and to increase the maximum length of benefit to forty weeks. He also sought to delete the cut in employers' contributions proposed by the Compensation Department bill. One of the main arguments against these amendments was that they would raise the Wisconsin standards above those of other states. This happened a few months after the Committee report to the Interstate Conference of Employment Securities Agencies (October, 1944). Paul A. Raushenbush, chairman, stated: "It should be noted that Congress intended the new 'loan' fund (of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944, known as the George Bill) to encourage action by each State to provide more adequate postwar benefit protection for its own covered workers."

ticular industries, and sound industrial relations and principles of management; all of which seem much more significant than the variable pay-roll taxes provided for by unemployment insurance taxation.¹⁸

Because of the present large reserves, amounting to \$186,000,000, the Wisconsin fund could probably assume the whole burden of unemployment under almost any system of employer contributions, whether at a uniform or at a variable rate; but when viewed as a long-term institution, the assumption of the entire load of relief would probably require a pooled system of some sort, especially if we should again encounter mass unemployment.

Local relief and the W.P.A. have been the two crutches upon which the system of unemployment compensation has leaned, and without which it could not have continued in its present form. Remove these crutches, without a change in the law, and the whole system is likely to stumble and fall to the ground. An unassisted merit-rating system simply cannot finance the whole cost of unemploy-

¹⁸ In this reference see the *Report of the Senate Interim Committee on Unemployment Insurance of the State of California* (California State Printing Office, Sacramento, California, 1945). This committee recommends the abolition of merit rating (p. 78) and says: "Your committee has found that labor throughout the State is opposed to merit rating, on the ground that since every dollar paid in benefits to the worker tends to decrease the employer's opportunity to get a lower tax, it encourages employers to contest the payment of benefits to workers, to promote legislation restricting benefits and to oppose liberalization and extension of the unemployment insurance program. On the other hand, we have found that business favors merit rating on the ground that many employers with good employment experience are granted tax savings" (pp. 70, 71). The Committee also found that "stabilization of employment is basically not within the control of the employer. Moreover, the extent of stabilization which may be found in some industries where the employer has a small degree of control over employment, results more from sound principles of industrial relations and business practice than unemployment insurance taxation" (p. 78).

ment, so that those who wish to retain this system even in its present impure form find it necessary to oppose attempts to make it adequate for all needs.

The choice then seems to be between a system of merit rating and low relief and a pooled system and adequate relief. Is it any wonder, therefore, that only those who have profound allegiance to merit rating are willing that the unfortunate shall suffer in order that a system predicated upon their theory may remain pure and undefined?

Having noted how the unemployment burden is shifted to other agencies, we can see the untenability of the argument that experience rating makes the cost of unemployment a business cost that is allocated to a particular firm.¹⁹ Moreover, those who in pursuance of this theory would put the total cost of unemployment upon the unstable firms have hitherto been unwilling to advocate suitable legislation. The reason for this is apparent if we ask ourselves how to measure the total cost of unemployment. Obviously the cost of unemployment according to the displaced alternatives theory of economic costs is the amount of product that has been lost because of unemployment. As an aggregate, this is the difference between the national income at full employment and at the prevailing level. For the individual firm, the simplest measure is the decrement in pay rolls. If, then, those who advocate this

theory wish to be taken seriously, they would have to propose legislation making the employer responsible for a continuation of all or that portion of his pay roll which does not find other employment. This would virtually make labor an overhead cost.²⁰ Indeed, as soon as one begins to think in these terms, one arrives at a theory that unemployment is a social overhead cost that can be alleviated or overcome by concerted action of society as a whole.

It is simply a form of question-begging to define the cost of unemployment as a limited amount of money for a limited number of weeks, to raise this money by contributions according to the merit system, and then to claim that such a system allocates "all the costs" of unemployment to the individual firm responsible for it.²¹ In Wisconsin, as in the nation as a whole, the unemployment compensation system has accordingly borne only a small portion of this cost and probably will continue to do so unless that system undergoes radical modification in amount and duration of benefits and the method of raising revenues. Such a modification would also require a reconsideration of the administrative organization best adapted to integrate unemployment compensation and relief.

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²⁰ See Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

¹⁹ Cf. Brandeis, *supra*. "The functional approach aims to make compensation for the unemployed not a general social cost but an individual business cost. . . . It regards the provision of year-round income as the responsibility of the business concern, not of society in general" (p. 77). "It is an attempt to make the price system do its job, to see that the prices of specific articles reflect *all the costs* [italics mine] of those articles, neither omitting any nor including the unrelated extraneous costs of other articles" (p. 79).

²¹ Sumner H. Slichter calculates that "in 1940 and 1941 the benefits paid under unemployment compensation schemes were only 10 per cent of the payroll loss on account of unemployment in the covered industries." Making conservative pay-roll estimates for the year 1941, Slichter estimated a pay-roll loss of 3.6 billion dollars in the covered industries, whereas the unemployment benefits were only \$344 million, or a little less than ten cents in unemployment compensation for every dollar of pay lost. See *Complete Report of Proceedings, American Federation of Labor Post-war Forum, April 12th and 13th, 1944*, pp. 36, 37.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE REUNITED FAMILY¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

IN THIS postwar period social workers are encountering many problems created by economic change. Inevitably we are dealing largely with those individuals and families for whom the termination of the war brings lowered earnings to the head of the family and unemployment or lower wages also to its other members, as mothers and elder children. While during the war some families lived on an inflated money level, many merely experienced for the first time a fairly adequate standard of living. It is obvious that in many instances the problems met will be the grim-reality ones, with which social workers long have been familiar—those problems created by having too little money to maintain the general welfare standards to which every individual should be entitled. In other instances the problems confronting us may be the largely psychological ones which are almost universally involved in one's having *less* of what money can buy after having known its purchasing power. This is not necessarily an unhealthy response, for it is in the nature of the normal human being to aspire to live beyond the survival level. He struggles not merely for life but for life on satisfying terms. What are satisfying terms? One cannot readily define satisfying terms, for they vary as widely as individuals vary. They are determined by man's concept of himself, in his own eyes, in the eyes of his family, and in the eyes of his larger social group. They are determined also by the meaning of money to him in his relationships within his family and his com-

munity, that is, the use he can make of it in innumerable ways in all areas of his life. Whether we deal with the family for whom economic change is bringing actual deprivation in the essentials of life or with the family for whom it is bringing only a change in status, in either instance we can anticipate disturbed feelings about the change. These feelings will be expressed in varying ways by each individual within the family. They will bring behavior changes of many sorts. Realignments in relationship within the family may ensue, and in some instances the family life may undergo basic change in its organization. We saw this happen during the war when incomes headed upward. As they head downward change again will occur and the family may or may not revert to its pre-war organization.

The woman who, during the long depression years, in her concern for the survival of her children became the strong head of the household was suddenly dethroned when, during the war, the man returned to work at higher wages than he previously had earned. Social workers, even those long inured to the surprising complexities and inconsistencies of mankind, were dumbfounded to hear some of them complain, recalling the depression years in nostalgic fashion. Those were the good old days when she had everything under control. Her husband stayed home nights, permitted her the management of the money, and was submissive and devoted. Now he wants to manage the money. Perhaps overcompensating for years of frustration and feelings of inadequacy, he spends it wildly, and she is

¹ Paper read at the Louisiana State Conference of Social Welfare, April 25, 1946, Alexandria, La.

no longer sure that she is the only woman in his life. Other wives, however, welcomed their husbands' restored adequacy and resumption of major responsibility. What caused these wide variations in response to increased earnings? In each instance we would find a different answer, but the determinants probably are factors such as: the nature of the relationship between the husband and wife, that is, whether or not the woman had a basic need to dominate and a deep gratification in her husband's dependency and lack of power; also, how the husband had reacted to his restored status, that is, whether he carried responsibility in a stable, mature fashion or, instead, had a childlike need not only to use money self-indulgently but also to use his renewed capacity to earn as permission to become a hostile aggressor against the rights of others in the family group. What will these families do as life returns to so-called normal? Will the dominating woman, who solved her dethronement hurt through going out to work, return to her throne and manage either her husband's meager earnings or the financial assistance on which they now depend? Will she instead prefer to continue to work and do so if possible? Will the husband, if she remains at home, consent to a return of the old order? What happens will vary from family to family, depending upon the nature of the interfamily relationships; upon the satisfactions derived through the role which each person, parent or child, played during the war period in comparison to the satisfactions in the old pre-war order; and upon the extent to which chance circumstances—such as work opportunities, earnings, and family demands—enable them to preserve the wartime alignment, to drive them back to the re-creation of old alignments, or to provoke new ones. In the

latter instance, the new family organization will be fashioned not only by present circumstantial factors, external pressures, the interplay of relationships within the total family group but also by needs created through past experience and long-standing predisposition to react in certain ways. It will be fashioned also by the future—those aspirations which each family member has for himself in relation to the strength of his impulses to strive for what he wants.

In a money economy, loss of financial resources and application for assistance can immediately affect the individual's capacity to deal with his everyday affairs. Lack of money or reduced income can modify drastically the family's opportunities for physical, intellectual, and emotional development. It may therefore affect very basically the life of the individual and hence his relationships within the family and the community. In some instances, however, money may not be the cause of relationship difficulties so much as the medium through which all sorts of human need is expressed. In a money economy we think and feel in terms of money to such an extent that it may become a disguise for other ills. It may be less painful to see our needs as economic ones. The illusion that we want money may conceal even from ourselves the basic want of love or power. In a discussion of the economic aspects of the reunited family it may be helpful to consider the place which money has been accorded in the lives of many individuals in our society.

I have said elsewhere that money means different things to different people at different ages in different life-situations.² For children, money normally

² For fuller discussion see Charlotte Towle, *Common Human Needs: An Interpretation for Staff in Public Assistance Agencies* (Social Security Board,

takes on meaning in terms of the import which it has within the family. As they mature one may find conformity to the family pattern in handling money or a strong reaction against it. Some children learn good money habits within the family and some, bad money habits which they take into adulthood; but the handling of money is not so simple as that. Money is an infinitely complex subject. It has great emotional significance, and the meaning money has for the individual will determine what he will do with it. Within our society money has been the symbol of adequacy, even of worth. It wins respect for the individual. Sometimes, to be rich is to be both powerful and wise. Frequently, to be rich is to be forgiven many sins of omission and commission.

Within the family money has great affectional value. When a child is bad, allowances are withheld; when he is good, money and things are given. Likewise, when parents are feeling happy, they may give freely; when they are out of sorts, they may withhold the pennies. Children tend to reach out early for money as an assurance of love. Besides the very gratifying things it buys to compensate for life's deprivations, it assures one of being loved. This use of money as an expression of negative or of positive feeling may permeate family life. As a result of this, throughout life the adult's need for and use of money may be strongly interwoven with affectional need. In earning and in receiving financial assistance, as well as in spending, he is frequently expressing his gratifications, his deprivations, his conflicts; in fact, he is working through much that is important to him.

Money has other import also. To many it is a symbol of power and strength, a symbol of the adequacy of the adult. In the social group this value is pronounced. The child gets the feeling early that adults have money, at least that they control whatever bit of money there is. So the child begins to feel: "When I get big, I will have money, too; and I will control it." In some instances, complete control will be expressed in wild spending as an exhibition to others or as an assurance to himself of his adult adequacy. For another child, doing "as I please" with money—that is, having control of it—will mean hanging on to it, keeping it all to himself with the illusion that the more money he has, the bigger and more adequate he is. The long and short of this is that children frequently express their growth, their impulses toward adulthood, in their combat for money and in their use of it. They are working through much in relation to parents and parent-figures in their assertion of the right to do with it as they please. Whether he spends wisely or not, the adult has the right to earn and to spend as he pleases so long as he does not infringe upon the law. Almost universally, however, there are vestiges of the child in the man—a childish self who remains relatively dormant when life is going well. When man encounters frustration through deprivation and defeat, the child in him emerges, and sometimes he is irrational in his demands for money and in his ways of spending. The social worker deals with people in their time of trouble when, in their receiving, earning, and spending of money again, they are working through much in relation to authority. To them it seems the coercive authority of an unloving society which withholds jobs and permits substandard wages; the coercive au-

thority of employers who, like autocratic parents, dictate the terms and say to take it or leave it—as though they were free from the force of circumstance to make a choice; the rigid dictates of the social agency which, though it gives unrestricted money payments and thus grants them their statutory rights, gives them less than they need and thus violates their human rights. Again, their demands, their protests, their assertive though irrational spending may express their struggle to maintain their adulthood.

In social agencies we deal with many people whose childhood needs, material and emotional, were unmet and who bring to adult life distorted personalities which may be manifested in unrealistic attitudes toward earning, receiving, and spending. We deal also with many normal people at a time of economic stress when, in the interests of growth, they are both actually and psychologically needful of all that money can buy. Consequently, what money means to them, as well as their characteristic ways of using it, will be shown as they apply for financial assistance. The humiliation and resentment shown, the tendency to minimize their need or to exaggerate it, the tendency to recall the adequate past or to conceal it, the inclination to project blame for their dilemma or to assume it, the way they participate in the application interview and in establishing eligibility—all these responses will bespeak what it means to them to ask for financial assistance. Closely related to these emotions will be their feelings about working, earning, and spending.

Mr. B., unemployed and out of money through forces beyond his control, could blame only himself for his family's dilemma. Interpretation of his right to assistance and of the fact that unemployment

was general did not readily allay his tendency to self-blame. Gradually it became clear that to Mr. B. money long had been a symbol of personal worth. When not earning and when forced to take help, he could feel only worthless; and his way of dealing with this discomfort was through putting his feelings into words. Another man feeling the same way might have eased his discomfort through denials of inadequacy in word or in behavior. As one explores need through budget-making, the way money has been spent in the past and who has managed it, as well as the response given to help proffered in financial management, will throw further light not only on the meaning of money to the applicant himself but also on its meaning to him as a member of the family group.

Mrs. L., the young mother of three children, whose husband was in a sanitarium with tuberculosis, applied to an agency for help in placing her children, in order that she might work. Her opening statement was a denial of a request for charity—"I only want help so that I can work and earn." Interpretation of her right to assistance and of the provisions of Aid to Dependent Children brought a momentary weakening but still a final decision to postpone application. In this connection she expressed reluctance to take help because of a fear of dependency—in words to the effect that it makes people lazy and unwilling to work. After an abortive overture at placement of her children, from which she retreated, she decided to apply for assistance. In the exploration of needs as the budget was made, she confided that she was a poor manager, that she had always overspent her husband's quite adequate earnings. They had got along beautifully except for this one bone of contention. In spite of previous protests

against dependency she cautioned the social worker that she would have to give her a great deal of help in management, adding, "And won't my husband be surprised if I manage well!" She immediately had many difficulties in getting along on a standard budget and, in spite of the worker's efforts to help her, she suddenly decided to give up trying. In moving into a second attempt to place her children, she justified this measure on the grounds that the agency had not given her enough money. In exploring the woman's difficulties in management in order to help her, the worker brought out the fact that the woman had always purchased what she wanted without inquiring about the price and that it meant a great deal to her to give the children the things they liked, regardless of their cost. Since her husband's earnings had been moderate, one encounters here an irrational attitude toward money, which immediately suggests that, in spending, this woman was buying or endeavoring to purchase something more than food-stuffs and things per se. What was she seeking? What did spending mean to her? If we were to meet her request that we help her to regulate her expenditures, it was obvious that some understanding of these basic meanings of money would be essential. This woman again responded to the children's upset response at being placed by changing her mind about placing them and by reapplying for financial assistance. Subsequent developments revealed that, out of economic and emotional deprivations in her early life-experience, she had brought to marriage a meager capacity to give and an excessive need to be given to. This had been a long-standing marital problem. In her money habits she was expressing a number of needs—a need to be given to affectionally without limit as

well as a need to retaliate in hostile fashion upon her husband. Because he made demands which she could not meet and because he failed to meet the full measure of her dependency—that is, to give her all that she wanted materially and emotionally—the overspending of his earnings became very useful: It made life difficult for him; it provoked quarrels; and it proved to him, to his family, to the world, and to herself that she was not the only inadequate one. He, too, was inadequate; he, too, was failing her and failing to meet life's demands when he could not earn enough to stay out of debt. In the absence of the husband, as one might expect, the supporting agency took his place. As could well have been predicted, money became the central issue in her relationship with the agency. Her husband's return home and to employment brought an early termination of the contact, so that it is not clear what use she would have made of help in the long run. Of interest, however, is the fact that she was beginning to accept and to use the worker's help in financial management. This was due partly to the fact that she did not have so much at stake emotionally in this relationship. It doubtless was due also to the fact that in several respects the agency was a more satisfying mate than was the husband. The agency did not make the same demands, demands which she was peculiarly unfitted to meet; it did not, through the worker, react emotionally and retaliatively to her provocative failures in financial management; it, through the worker, was understanding of how she felt about spending. It also was understanding of her insecurity as a mother and of her fear of, and resistance to, parental responsibility, while at the same time the worker helped her to carry that responsibility more adequately. The

agency set limits in giving, but it gave consistently, while at the same time its demands were more limited. Consequently, she did not have so much disturbed feeling to work through, and, consequently, spending—the area of her life in which she expressed much of her basic discomfort—became stabilized. Had her contact with the agency continued, this woman might have been helped to gain some understanding of her use of money. Perhaps she could have indicated readiness for this insight at a subsequent point. This would have been important in order for basic gains to occur which would carry over after the present helping situation was terminated.

When agencies are aware of the psychological significance of money to people, sometimes in extending assistance they can make financial arrangements which are an integral part of the over-all treatment plan. Financial arrangements may facilitate or obstruct other treatment measures; they can be treatment measures in and of themselves. Frequently rigid agency policies interfere with treatment because they obstruct a differential use of financial arrangements. For example: Mr. P., because he was disabled, applied for financial assistance in Aid to Dependent Children. His condition was diagnosed as conversion hysteria manifesting itself in epileptiform seizures, which recently had been frequent and severe. This man's mother had died during his infancy. He was reared by an aunt who dressed him like a girl. He was not allowed to be rough and dirty. This repressive rearing was reinforced later by a stepmother and by a rigidly punitive father who demanded perfect behavior. He entered adolescence and adulthood with deep feelings of inadequacy as a man. He had strong wishes not only to be dependent

but even to be a woman. At the same time, he had some discomfort over these wishes, which led him to deny them through marrying and assuming responsibility for a family. Following the birth of his second child, a son, at which time his marital responsibilities also increased, the seizures which had had their onset in adolescence increased in frequency and severity. At the time of his application, his wife's family, who lived next door, had been contributing to their support since his unemployment, through providing the food.³ When the budget was worked out by the agency, this contribution was continued. Mr. P. and his wife did not raise a protest against this arrangement because, as they brought out later, they wanted to ask for as little help from the agency as possible. Comprehensive case-work service was instituted, along with financial assistance. This consisted of direct interviews with the man and the procurement of psychiatric help, in which the case worker participated through joint treatment efforts in consultation with the psychiatrist. It included also vocational advisement and retraining, through the State Vocational Rehabilitation Division. It was learned subsequently that Mr. P. had long felt defensive in relation to his wife's family, particularly her father. Improvement for a long period was retarded by dietary difficulties as well as by an intensification of his basic conflicts implicit in this arrangement. He did not feel hungry or want to eat. It later developed, when economic difficulties occurred in Mrs. P.'s family, that the A.D.C. grant was supplemented through General Relief, so that the P.'s received total support from the agency. Because

³ For discussion and case citations of Relative Support Laws as they operate in case-work treatment see Towle, *Common Human Needs*, *op. cit.*

of a relationship with the agency in which he felt respected and was therefore not defensive, he immediately felt better physically and mentally and seemingly was able to make more productive use of case-work help, psychiatric treatment, and vocational training. This man's illness was of a nature which presented a dubious outlook at best. In spite of extensive help, he was making headway slowly and uncertainly. In the interests of recovery as well as in the interests of financial economy it was important that the agency's administrative policies not obstruct or undermine with its right hand the efforts of its own left hand occupied in rehabilitation of the individual.

Often, at the time when termination of agency contact seems indicated, one encounters the deeper import that money has for the individual in terms of affectional values and of reassurance that he matters to someone. Mrs. R. had been the recipient of an A.D.C. grant for four years—from the time when she assumed responsibility for the care of an infant nephew, Jimmy. Prior to this she had been a hard-working woman to whom the entire family looked for support. From an early age she had worked out of the home, supporting herself. Following desertion by her husband, she had supported herself and a son who was now in the Army but who had refused to make an allotment to her. She also had supported her mother and a younger sister—the mother of Jimmy, the present beneficiary of A.D.C.—until their deaths, at which time she had made her application for help. During the years she has been on financial assistance this woman has derived gratification from coddling and infantilizing Jimmy to an extreme. Staying at home, not going out to work, having an agency to look to and a worker

who has been staunchly behind her has also had great compensatory values for a woman who throughout life has had to meet the demands of others, from a base of deprivation and repeated desertions. The worker recently has been encouraging her, now that Jimmy is in nursery school, to secure part-time employment. This was because her excessive need for affection operated against a constructive parental relationship with the child in spite of consistent efforts to help her modify her handling of him and probably also because of the meagerness of the A.D.C. grants. The resistances to securing work have been profound. Threatened with the loss of gratifications deeply important to her, she has fallen ill and has had many physical symptoms to serve as a justification for staying at home with Jimmy. It is instances of this sort that give rise to the citizen's outcry against the pauperizing effects of financial assistance. He would point to Mrs. R. as having been an adequate, independent woman four years ago, but who now in short order has been rendered a chronic dependent. He fails to see that pauperization here has not derived from being given money while she was still working hard caring for her nephew. It has derived instead from the impoverished personality which long antedated this experience and which has been revealed in her unwise handling of the child, her need to use him for her own ends, as well as in her response to this opportunity afforded through agency help to become dependent. This impoverishment has had as its base not only economic deprivation but probably also failures in relationships. At what point these failures began to be symptomatic of her own excessive need is not known. It is possible, however, that a deserting husband and a rejecting adult son be-

spoke her own meager capacity for constructive relationships. Here again we establish the point that the individual's use of money is symptomatic of basic personality needs. It is also clear that economic deprivation or economic indulgence become decisively influential not only in and of themselves but also in relation to the past experience of the individual, his present circumstances, and his aspirations for the future.

Reconversion is bringing problems to many individuals through whom it will influence family life. All available surveys—and there have been several in communities from coast to coast—show that the great majority of women workers *want* to keep their jobs. It has been pointed out that "large numbers of them must work so that they and their families can live decently and with self-respect."⁴ Specific inquiry in these surveys showed that the primary reasons given were the necessity for self-support and often support of other members of the family. In one survey economic reasons other than support were: saving for a child's education and payment on a home acquired during the period of wartime prosperity. How many of these thousands of women would choose to work if their husbands' wages could provide homes and educational advantages for the children is not known. It seems clear that full employment would include full opportunity for women to work in order to support themselves and their dependents as well as to supplement family income and to reach a satisfactory standard of living for their children and for others who are depending upon them for support. If full employment is maintained, there will be the continuance of

many motherless homes, and financial support of the family increasingly may become a joint enterprise of both parents. If it is not continued, there doubtless will be unemployment for many women and substandard living, if not actual want, for many families. In either instance there will be social problems, each calling for special resources to safeguard family life.

The problem of the young person who has been earning is widespread. Through lack of enforcement of child labor laws, many young persons have been doing work and pursuing a way of life which has been emotionally and physically disabling to them. Medical care problems, mental and physical, which will tax already overburdened community facilities can be expected to emerge. For many young people education essential for their future welfare was interrupted, while at the same time their wartime earnings may have made educational advantages seem unimportant. Many of these young people found a satisfying place of importance within their families and communities, which they will now lose. The constructive values of their experience may carry over as a resource and a safeguard in the adjustment of some individuals. Some persons, however, have used their earnings to break away prematurely from their family groups. It may be difficult or impossible for many of them to face realistically the social problems which their economic dislocation will bring. It may be too difficult to return to school; in fact, it may be far easier to think wishfully that wartime earnings are around the corner. It could well be a logical solution to look for easy money, whatever the source. It may be disrupting to give up one's place as an important wage-earner in the family group, either through allotments sent

⁴ See "Women Want To Work," in Notes and Comment, *Social Service Review*, XIX (December, 1945), 555-56.

home or through civilian earnings. The return to self-support which affords no margin to contribute to others, or the return to the role of a dependent recipient of what the parent can give out of inadequate earnings, may be deeply disturbing. It may be emotionally impossible to return to the family fold for economic protection when one broke away and did not share one's wartime earnings. An instance can be cited of a youth aged eighteen who, when arrested for stealing, justified the offense through the loss of a wartime job. In conflict with his parents for years, he had enacted his resentment and bought his freedom with his big earnings. Unable to face return to the family or a bare existence on reduced earnings, he must live by his wits; and big money is to be had now only in illegal ways. The basic roots of this boy's delinquency are in his family relationships, not in his wartime earnings or in his present loss of employment. These circumstances, however, have precipitated this behavior and may well fashion his response to help proffered. In dealing with these young people there will be a demand not only for the understanding and skill which trained social case workers can bring to help them but also for the extension of community resources for medical care, psychiatric help, vocational guidance, and special educational opportunities. There is recognition of need for these services and resources for the youth who went off to the wars. His need for help in problems resulting from stress and dislocation is well accepted. That the civilian youth who has lived through a wartime economy will need help both in services and in resources in returning to a peacetime economy is not so generally recognized.

In closing, it can be said that postwar economic factors can be expected to influence family life profoundly for better or for worse. In helping families through financial assistance, through other direct case-work services, or through the use of community resources, the specific social problem of the moment must be viewed both in relation to the individual presenting the problem and in relation to his place in the family group. It is important to remember that the individual's reaction to money—in receiving it, in earning it, or in spending it—reflects his behavior in general, that is, his way of responding in other aspects of his life. It is well to remember also that to be understood, economic factors must be viewed in relation to the aspirations for the future which each healthy member has for himself and which each normal family has for its members. Helping the individual look to and plan for the future would be the most stabilizing influence which one could bring into the lives of those most affected by economic change. It must not be forgotten that in the human personality there is a natural and inevitable impulse toward growth from the original state of dependency to a state of greater self-sufficiency and independence. In a money economy this natural impulse is expressed in striving for economic self-sufficiency. There will not be much mental health in family life and hence little social welfare unless opportunity for self-sufficiency is expanded and safeguarded. This implies full employment for those of employable age at wages beyond a mere subsistence level. It implies, also, adequate resources for the prompt assistance of those who need help due to ill-timed adversity or special handicap.

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RESPONSIBILITY FOR AND USE OF INTERIM AND EMERGENCY PLACEMENT*

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THE problem of temporary care of children has existed for some time, but because it has been accentuated during the war, it is beginning to receive the attention it deserves. Our discussion will concern itself with those children whose need for temporary care does not involve protective detention and where it is not a part of agency procedure to use temporary foster-home placement for all children as part of the separation process.

Throughout the country the scarcity of foster-care facilities—institutions as well as foster-homes—has led to the adoption of many expedients which are fraught with danger for large numbers of children. Everywhere one encounters glaring inadequacies of plan, program, plant, and personnel. Children of all ages, including babies, are crowding detention homes awaiting placement. For instance, one detention home with a capacity of 60 beds is housing 136 dependent children, some of whom have had to sleep two in a bed. The seriousness of the problem may be more appreciated when seen from the point of view of an individual child. A little girl who has already spent five months in a detention home and is still waiting for placement drew a picture of a puppy pleading for a home. The implications are obvious without further comment. Other children are remaining in their own homes, which have been declared unfit by courts. Some of these children have lost their lives because of

neglect by parents, who have been found legally incompetent. Well infants are placed in wards of hospitals. Children are also being placed for temporary care in jails, where separate quarters are provided for them. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that children remain in these temporary placements not for a few days or weeks but for months and in some instances for more than a year.

There are two types of temporary placement, emergency and interim. "Emergency placement" is defined as temporary care of children who are not known to a children's agency and who must be removed from their homes. "Interim placement" is temporary care of children who are known to a children's agency and are awaiting placement or re-placement.²

The need for emergency care arises from a variety of reasons. Sudden catastrophes in the family may require temporary care of children. In case of serious neglect, children may require immediate protection until long-time placement plans are formulated. Conflict with the law or antisocial behavior may call for emergency placement. Similarly, children in placement may require interim care in the course of re-placement, when foster-homes are unavailable. The reason for change may be inherent in the child, the foster-home, or the institution. An agency may assume responsibility

* Parts of this paper are based on a report on "Interim and Emergency Care" submitted by a special committee of the Ohio State Child Welfare Advisory Committee, of which the writer was chairman.

* A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, 1946.

for a child leaving emergency care, but, because of lack of a suitable foster-home, interim care has to be provided.

Regardless of the reasons, the removal of a child, even for a temporary period, from his own home, or foster-home where ties have been established, is a drastic measure and must be done responsibly. The child is deeply affected by sudden change in living arrangements and by the state of suspension inherent in temporary care. Anxiety about his ties with the past and with the unknown future is acute. When a child comes into placement, he gives up the familiar and must begin to form a new set of relationships. This is not a simple process. The kind of care and treatment the child receives at this critical time may seriously affect his entire development and generally influences the degree of his ultimate adjustment in placement. Temporary care should, therefore, be a carefully planned experience for the child.

Temporary care is directly related to, and is dependent upon, the adequacy of resources for long-time care. That child-care needs have never been satisfactorily met by either private or public agencies requires no elaboration. The country was caught unprepared for the war years and for the immediate postwar period, which brought with them an increased number of children requiring placement. The following are some of the contributory causes for the increase: (1) employment of mothers; (2) breaking-up of homes when the fathers went into the service; (3) psychological instability of the family due to war and postwar strains; (4) greater neglect of children; (5) migration of rural families to the cities and attendant difficulties encountered in adjusting to a different mode of living and to different cultural patterns; (6) sudden catastrophes such as illness and accidents; (7) increased eviction of families

with children; (8) increase in divorce rate; (9) fewer relatives offering homes to children needing temporary care because of real limitations, and an apparent trend toward less family and relative responsibility; (10) a tendency in certain communities for those agencies having legal authority to remove children to exercise this authority precipitously, where careful planning by trained personnel might have prevented the need for emergency placement; (11) improved agency standards and changing social consciousness may be contributing to the increased request for services.

At a time when more children needed placement, foster-home resources practically dried up. The supply of good foster-homes was never adequate to meet the demands. The following factors contributed toward the aggravation of the problem: (1) lack of personnel to recruit, study, and supervise foster-homes; (2) employment of women outside of the home; (3) housing shortage; (4) landlords' attitudes toward children; (5) smaller dwelling units in metropolitan areas; (6) lack of domestic help; (7) food shortages; (8) increased earnings; (9) low board rates in contrast to prevailing wage rates and cost of living; (10) strains in families due to war and postwar problems; (11) more careful study of foster-homes and higher standards, resulting in lower rate of acceptance of applications; (12) lack of sufficient competent personnel to supervise placements, contributing to the loss of foster-homes.

Institutions were able to meet only part of the problem of long-time care because of limitations inherent in the institution and because children who no longer required group care and could have made room for others had no foster-homes to which they could be transferred. As far as temporary care is concerned, institutions could serve only in a

limited way for the following reasons: (1) inability to absorb temporary placements in the regular program; (2) limited space; (3) racial, religious, age, and sex restrictions; (4) lack of staff; (5) failure to make fullest possible use of available plant resources; (6) lack of an adequate program to serve children presenting behavior and emotional problems.

What are some of the current practices in providing temporary care? In all metropolitan and some nonmetropolitan communities the juvenile court, which is responsible for emergency and detention care, discharges this responsibility by establishing a detention home, which in most instances provides both emergency and interim care. Because of the lack of suitable temporary facilities, social agencies have used the detention home as a dumping ground. It is this group of children, rather than the delinquents, who remain indefinitely. They are America's forgotten children. A facility planned for children who must be detained cannot meet the needs of children who require temporary care because of dependency or neglect.

Even where the detention home has separate quarters for these children, it cannot provide a genuine homelike atmosphere which children need and to which they have a right. Further, no child in need of temporary care should be subjected to protective custody, which detention implies. The "lock up" or segregation from the community cannot provide the environment in which the child can gain a sense of interest, support, and help. Detention home carries with it the implications of a jail, regardless of the social reason for the child's being there. We are punishing children because society has not been willing to meet their needs. All of us stand accused of thwarting children's development and of contributing to their emotional and

physical neglect. The writer knows of a child of two who had remained in a detention home for five months and whose physical condition upon his discharge was such that he required hospital care for three weeks before he could be placed.

In some communities supplementary facilities for temporary care are developed, of which the following are examples:

Hospitals are used for infants and children under three years of age at a cost of \$4.50 to \$7.00 per day. The length of stay varies from three days to several months. The placement of healthy babies in hospitals exposes them to the danger of cross-infection. Equally important is the fact that hospitals cannot provide the individual attention and affection which young children require for normal development. Practically speaking, it is too expensive care for as unhealthy and unsound a program. With some effort and thought for planning and willingness to pay a fair board rate, a community could meet the needs of young children more adequately and at a lower cost.

In some communities county children's homes and private institutions are used for temporary placements. This plan has been found to be disrupting to the program and to be demoralizing in its effect on the children there for long-time care. They see children come and go without being able to understand the many factors involved. The attempt at adaptation of two essentially different functions simultaneously is bound to fail. It complicates administration, confuses function, and interferes with satisfactory accomplishment in either long-time or temporary care.

The institution with which the writer is associated has attempted to absorb children requiring temporary care and has found that temporary care is complex because of the varied ages, sex, and needs

of the different children. On the basis of experience, a cottage separately staffed was set up for ten babies and preschool children. The staff consists of three supervisors of children who are responsible for the physical care and the play program. One of the supervisors has had nursery-school training and experience. A graduate nurse relieves three days a week when one of the supervisors is off duty, to assure the presence of three adults daily for direct supervision of the children. Another staff member is responsible for the cooking and housework, under the supervision of the institution's dietitian. A part-time case worker is responsible for case work with the families and for planning for individual children. The number of personnel required to give adequate care to children ranging in age from nine months to five years is greater than for a group of older children; the expenses of this type of plan, therefore, are very high. The experience with this project supports the evidence reported in child-welfare literature that young children thrive best under individual rather than under group care.

It is significant that the same community has several other private institutions, each of which is accommodating about forty or fifty babies at a fairly high per capita cost. Because of lack of state facilities, the county child-placement agency has sixty imbeciles in foster-homes, paying as high as \$100 per month for some of these children. At the same time a substantial increase in board rates for babies was not granted because it was argued that the available public and private funds could not support such a program.

A variety of types of subsidized foster-homes are used throughout the country. Wherever there are detention homes, the subsidized homes are generally used for babies. In rural and in some urban com-

munities where there are no detention homes, older children are also placed in such homes. The number of children accommodated in individual homes varies from three to fourteen. The subsidy plan may assume a variety of forms. The most popular plan has been found to be one where the agency guarantees a fixed number of children, about three or four, at a specified board rate varying from seven to ten dollars a week. Usually, the rate set for the guaranteed number is higher than for any additional children who may be placed in the homes. Some agencies pay a subsidy of fifty or sixty dollars a month in addition to the regular per diem payment for board for the children placed. One nonmetropolitan community reports an arrangement similar to the one just described, but, in addition, the agency provides beds, mattresses, and pillows as needed. Occasionally, homes with paid staff are owned and operated by the agency. Some of these homes care for interim as well as emergency cases and are set up by private and public child-placement agencies as well as by juvenile courts.

At times, the function of these homes for temporary care is confused by the placement of children for observation or study. The agency's need to study a child and a child's need for temporary care are separate, although they may be simultaneous problems in the same child. Experience has taught us that the concept of "study" and "treatment" cannot be separated and that the element of time cannot be controlled; whereas the concept of temporary care implies a fairly definite time limit for its effective operation. In a small community, however, it may be practical for an agency to have only one facility both for interim care and for study of children waiting for placement or re-placement. The purpose of such a home should be clear if it is to

be used appropriately. The foster-parents and the staff should be equipped to create an environment conducive to the study and treatment of children.

An emergency facility which has temporary shelter as its primary objective and which is to turn over the children to an appropriate agency or placement department when separation from their parents is indicated, should not be accepting children for study. The two needs should not be confused in community planning for children.

Now that we have reviewed the problem and the various attempts at solution, it might be well to restate some of the fundamental principles of child welfare and their logical implications for sound community planning of temporary care. These principles are not new and have been tested in various types of child-welfare programs.

1. Whenever children are deprived of parental care by reason of dependency or neglect, the community has responsibility to see that adequate care is provided for them either by relatives or by an agency.

2. Understanding and treating the problem of dependent and neglected children demand properly trained personnel and the best professional competency that the community can secure.

3. Inadequacy of staff, as to number and training, causes general depletion of child-welfare services in family as well as children's agencies and contributes to placements of an emergency character. Greater skill in the selection and supervision of foster-homes reduces the need for re-placements. Similarly, greater skill in working with natural parents reduces emergency placements.

4. Removal of children from their own homes, regardless of the inadequacy of these homes, or re-placement from a foster-home or institution where children have established ties, is a traumatic experience and threatens their security; therefore, sudden or emergent placement or re-placement should be avoided whenever possible.

5. Uncertainty and suspense are inherent in temporary placement, and, therefore, emer-

gency or interim placement should be of as short duration as possible consistent with development of a suitable permanent plan.

6. The effectiveness of a temporary-placement service depends upon the adequacy of general services and facilities for families and children in the community and the state.

7. The need for temporary care of children cannot be met adequately in any one facility because of differences in age, sex, and types of problems presented by individual children.

8. Foster-family care is preferable for infants and preschool children.

A plan for temporary care cannot be effective unless it is co-ordinated with other social resources which seek to prevent family breakdown, to preserve home life, and to promote preventive as well as protective services to children. Specifically, it must be a part of a complete community child-welfare program which aims at meeting the individual requirements of each child, including social services for children in their own homes through public assistance or private family agencies, courts, schools, homemakers' service, child-guidance clinics, and day care as well as the various types of foster-care, both in institutions and in foster-homes. A nation-wide study would undoubtedly reveal that the number of children in temporary care is in inverse ratio to the adequacy of basic community services and facilities. An apparent need for additional temporary-care facilities may really be a need for improvement of other child-welfare services. For instance, many temporary and long-time foster-care facilities are taken up by defective, mentally ill, and postencephalitic children because of lack of state institutional resources. Many foster-homes are lost by agencies because they are used for children who belong in specialized group care; but our institution programs are still geared to the need of the orphan and the dependent rather than to the type of child who comes into placement now and whose

behavior requires professional understanding and skilful handling by the staff. Most private and public institutions are still the depressed areas in child welfare.

Within recent years evictions have contributed considerably to the problem of temporary care. Eviction as such is not a valid reason for the separation of children from their parents. It is a family problem and should be treated as such. If eviction of families with children cannot be legally postponed until suitable living quarters are found for them, temporary resources should be made available for both parents and children during this critical housing shortage. Whether a child is separated from his parents because of eviction or other social reasons, he suffers a profound emotional disturbance which can never be compensated for altogether. His family should, therefore, be given assistance in every possible way to enable them to meet the child's needs. Such consideration would also eliminate the practice of removing children precipitously from their homes by the police when the lives of children are not in immediate danger. Unqualified personnel are not equipped to evaluate whether parental neglect is due to rejection of the child, to incompetency, or to personal involvement which is temporarily blinding the parent to the needs of the child. Sound planning for emergency and interim care in any community must begin with an evaluation of the fundamental child-care needs and the extent to which existing public and private resources are meeting these needs in accordance with accepted principles for the care of children under varying circumstances. Such planning, however, has always been sorely lacking.

There is an over-all duty on the part of the public through its governmental units to provide for all children in need

of help. In communities where both public and private child-welfare agencies exist, mutual determination of the division of responsibility between such agencies is essential. It is recognized that there are certain legitimate needs which the public as a whole does not see as a proper governmental responsibility and which some citizens in the community wish to support through private auspices. Generally, the private agency has a right to select that section of the child-care field in which it wishes to operate. Emergency placement, which refers to children who are not known to a child-welfare agency, is therefore a public responsibility.

In many states emergency care now is the responsibility of juvenile courts. The operation of a program for emergency care of children is an administrative rather than a judicial function and should be under the auspices of an administrative public welfare authority such as a county child-welfare board or city department of welfare. This principle applies to emergency placements requiring detention care as well. The local or county public child-welfare agency and in some regions the state department of public welfare, through its child-welfare division, can administer programs of detention care, leaving to the courts the judicial decision as to the need of children for such care.

Interim care, which has previously been defined as temporary placement of children under the care of or assigned to a children's agency and waiting for placement or re-placement, is an integral part of the total placement service and should be provided by the agency, public or private, having responsibility for any child needing such care. It is essential that each agency have available the necessary facilities to assure continuity of service and to avoid difficulties in intake, supervision, and administration.

Although no two communities are identical with respect to their needs and resources for the care of children, the use of subsidized foster-homes is usually found to be the most successful way of planning for temporary care. Effective service can be rendered by these homes if no more than three or four children are placed in one home. No more than two babies should be placed in the same home if they are to receive the care and affection they require for normal development. The established standards for foster-home selection and supervision apply to subsidized homes as well. The cost for temporary care is higher because the agency must pay for availability; but the cost of such care is at least double the cost of regular boarding care.

As indicated earlier in this paper, practices vary among communities with respect to per diem payments and there is considerable confusion in computing the amount of subsidy to be granted to the foster-parents. It is more realistic not to confuse board payment with subsidy. The board should be paid at the prevailing rate and additional compensation should be in accordance with the use that is made of the home and its capacity. Twenty-five dollars a month per child should be paid for service and half of that amount for availability for each vacancy when there are fewer than the number of children agreed upon. This proposed payment may appear high to those who have always argued for foster-home care as more economical than institutions. Agencies must meet the competition of increasing opportunities for foster-mothers to secure high board rates from independent boarding arrangements or adequate wages outside the home. Communities must accept the fact that good child care is expensive, whether it is offered in foster-homes or institutions. The investment in good

foster-parents, however, is more economic than an investment in plant.

The present shortage of foster-homes makes it almost impossible to depend entirely on subsidized foster-homes to meet the needs of temporary care, particularly in urban communities. The problem is urgent, and it must be met now. To meet the emergency additional facilities are needed. A home owned and operated by the agency with a paid staff is another medium. The smaller the unit the more desirable it is for the child. Ten or twelve should be the maximum number in any single unit. The staff should be adequate to assure competent care on an individual basis and also should be trained to employ group-work principles in the group-living situation. The compensation would have to be adequate to attract competent personnel. The present low salaries paid to matrons or house-parents in institutions should not be used as a basis for determining salaries. It is best to have a couple in charge of the home, the husband to pursue his business outside the home but to serve as the father-person when at home. Comfortable living quarters and relief for one-and-a-half days a week are essential if the house-parents are to function effectively.

The location of such homes should be close to school, recreation, and religious facilities which could be utilized by the children. With sufficient staff for supervision it should be possible to serve children of both sexes in these homes.

In rural areas it may be practicable for two or three counties to co-operate in the use of subsidized homes or in setting up an agency home and sharing the expenses on an equitable basis. The county or state child-welfare worker could assume the responsibility for foster-home finding, placement, and supervision.

Regardless of the nature of the program, temporary care—emergency and

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interim alike—requires the support of facilities for permanent care and should be under the auspices of a child-placement agency. The distinct placement features of temporary care as compared with long-time placement must be recognized, and also that a different approach is required for the child, his parents, and the foster-parents. To avoid confusion of the two functions, a separate case worker should be assigned, whenever possible, to children in temporary placement. In large agencies a separate department for temporary care may be required to assure effective service. Appropriate administrative controls must be established to assure that temporary placement does not become permanent. The length of stay in temporary care should be no longer than sixty days or, preferably, thirty days. Adequate provision for low case-load is necessary to permit the worker to do a careful job in intake and in working with the child and his parents after placement in temporary care and to facilitate the movement of the child into long-time placement or return to his home. The worker is the central figure who must be keenly tuned to the feelings of the child during this trying period.

In conclusion, the critical problem of temporary care is related to the general inadequacies of child-care services and facilities throughout the country. It is important that the principle of public responsibility for the provision of child-care resources be adopted. To the extent that private agencies do not provide for children, the appropriate public agency is legally responsible to establish such temporary and long-time child-care facilities as are necessary to meet the needs of all children. The state must relieve the local communities of the responsibility of caring for children who have for many years been probated to

state institutions. The local facilities thus released could be used for dependent and neglected children. The public assistance program must be strengthened to allow dependent families a better standard of living and the needed social service to prevent family breakdown. When removal of children is unavoidable, it should be carefully planned and should not be carried out precipitously by untrained personnel.

Emergency care is a public responsibility, and interim care is the responsibility of the agency caring for the child. Detention homes are unsuitable facilities for emergency care of dependent and neglected children. Current board rates for long-time and temporary care are inadequate. The validity of a service charge for caring for a strange child must be accepted for foster-parents as it is for institutional personnel.

The principles and the recommendations discussed in this paper imply immediate increase in child-care facilities and greater expenditures of money. In the long run, in dollars as well as in human lives, it is too expensive to ignore the need now. Dorothy Canfield Fisher says: "You can interrupt the improving of a road and ten years later go on with it where you left off, but if you interrupt decent care for children and ten years later begin again to feel responsible for them, you can by no means begin where you left off."

It is true that the war situation made the problems of temporary care more acute, but it did not create them. Most of the human problems that create the need for placement are not transitory in character. They may lose something of their extreme urgency but they will persist because they are basic in human life.

BELLEFAIRE AND THE JEWISH
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
CLEVELAND, OHIO

SOCIAL CASE WORK IN A MEDICAL SETTING¹

BERNECE K. SIMON

PSYCHOSOMATIC medicine has become the emblazoned banner under which we all now see ourselves serving. It is the magic formula that will bring about better understanding of patients by doctors; and it means that, at long last, we, too, have a tool that will give new meaning to our work, new understanding for our patients, and greater acceptance of our role in the hospital. What then is this new light that has broken over medical practice? To doctors it is many things. To many it is still folderol and the effect of the Freudians' attempt to taint with their propaganda all modern science pertaining to human beings. To a growing majority, it is the explanation and the filling-in of otherwise inexplicable discrepancies and gaps in the care of their patients. To a few others, psychosomatic medicine is not new; it is the recognition of certain conclusions which they have reached by virtue of their experience, observations, and deep human wisdom—conclusions which could not be deflected by the false principle that truth and fact are found only in the demonstrable and the evident.

What actually is psychosomatic medicine? It is almost too obvious to point out that the word itself—"psychosomatic"—is the reunion in man of his psyche and his body, through the courtesy of the medical profession. Perhaps it is not an oversimplification to say that it is also the reunion of psychiatry and medicine

and that they should never have been allowed to part.

Thus, as the integration of psychiatry and medicine proceeds, it should mean that each patient will be approached by the physician as a total human entity rather than as a disease entity. One physician has so far accepted this principle of integration that he has been able to move on to the consideration of the individual as part of a family whose interrelationships have meaning to the individual and play a part in his illness. Dr. Henry B. Richardson, in his exciting book, *Patients Have Families* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945), has given us a glimpse into a bright future of medical practice.

Obviously, social workers, particularly medical social workers, have known all this for a long time. It is the basis upon which we practice our profession. We have long since integrated principles of psychiatry into our understanding of human behavior; we have reiterated that our contribution to the medical setting is to be found in our individualization of the patient; we have certainly recognized the family as the basic unit of society in which the individual develops his response to his environment—his personality—to give unique meaning to all his experiences; we have certainly made use of the family and its emotional and environmental resources in our treatment of the patient.

If these things are the basis of our contribution to the care of the patient, what does it mean for us now that the physicians, presumably, will understand and put into effect these basic principles in

¹ Paper read in the case-work section of the American Association of Medical Social Workers at the National Conference of Social Work, Buffalo, New York, May 21, 1946.

their care of the patient? It is probable that, as the doctor begins to regard all his patients as individuals with ongoing lives in a family unit, the demand for our services will increase. The question which I wish to raise is: Are we ready professionally for this increased demand? The question of whether we are ready numerically is secondary. The challenge forms itself, rather, around the points that, we have agreed, have given us our unique position in the medical setting. Have we really integrated sound understanding of the principles of human behavior into our practice; have we really understood the basic importance of family interrelationships to the person as we find him when he is ill; have we really used the family and its emotional and environmental resources against the background of the foregoing principles in our treatment of the patient? If we have not, what must we do?

Will it suffice for us to learn that the hypertensive patient is a person who seems to develop his alarmingly high blood pressure because he has a long-repressed rage arising from the internal war that is waged between his strong, passive-dependent wishes, which make it dangerous to express his anger and resentment, and his equally strong, hostile, aggressive wishes, which make it equally imperative that he express his rage? Does it make us ready to meet the new challenge to know what unconscious drives the frequent fracture victim is expressing by his harmful encounters with his environment? Does it help us to know that arthritis may be the graphic way the organism takes to hold its aggressions within itself where they can bring it no harm? Certainly, learning these facts will add to our understanding of the human organism, once they become an accepted part of the illness picture. Per-

haps we will have to learn to use this new material—as we have used other medical information in the past—to help us to arrive at a picture of the person in illness that will enable us better to perform our services in relation to that patient.

But is there not more that we must know and must be able to do? And is not that “more” to be found in our own area of practice—case work? In discussing the integrated approach to illness, Dunbar has said that it is of paramount importance to know “the patient’s ability to adjust to certain life situations, especially his pattern of reacting to them, the degree of pent-up anxiety, the nature and seriousness of his conflicts.” Again, there is a familiar ring. This is the kind of thing we discuss in our fascinating “shop talk” and is, or should be, basic to our work with patients.

The case chosen for discussion has been chosen partly to underscore the validity of this question; partly because it is one of the so-called psychosomatic diagnoses; partly because the entire family group was known to the medical and social service departments of the hospital; and partly because, in whole or in part, it seems typical of the demands made upon us.

In considering case situations, it often appears that there are certain crucial points at which the worker’s skill, understanding, and basic awareness of her role must come into full play. These periods may be roughly catalogued as the referral to social service, the first contacts with the patient, hospital admissions and discharges, and the various crises that occur during the course of the case-work service. Although this case will be presented, in so far as possible, as it developed, it will be seen that, at many of

¹ H. F. Dunbar, “Psychoanalysis and the General Hospital,” *Psychiatry*, II (1939), 167.

these crucial spots, the worker was frequently deflected from her course by the various kinds of pressure which these situations bring to bear.

The focal person for the activity of the social worker was the father, Mr. Coleman, who was thirty-five years old when he first came to the Vascular Clinic and was found to have hypertensive cardiovascular disease. The other members of the family—Mrs. Coleman, thirty years old; Beatrice, twelve years old; and Corinne, ten years old—were also being treated in various clinics for complaints that seemed to indicate the need for study of their life-situations, as would most illness if we thoroughly subscribe to the principles herein discussed. The nature of their physical symptoms will be discussed later.

After his first clinic contact, which resulted in a hospitalization, Mr. Coleman had three other extremely serious hospitalizations, two for coronary occlusions of hypertensive origin. The last hospitalization revealed that he probably had had a coronary occlusion some time before he was admitted; but he came to the hospital because of severe pain in his left side and back, unremitting hiccupping for two days, and nausea and vomiting for the same length of time. He was discharged undiagnosed, with the statement that he had probably had an infection of undisclosed origin and focus. After each hospitalization, Mr. Coleman was discharged in precarious convalescent condition, on severely restricted activity, and was followed in clinic from two to eight months before he was allowed to attempt work. When working, he was seen at intervals in the clinic to determine how he was tolerating the activity.

Mr. Coleman was referred to social

service at the end of his first hospitalization for help in adjusting his fees. The physician's opinion was "if patient follows recommendations for rest and freedom from worry, takes medicine as prescribed, and attends clinic regularly for treatment at the end of about three months he may be able to return to light work." Accordingly, it was discovered by the worker that Mr. Coleman exhibited considerable anxiety about his financial situation and the necessity for Mrs. Coleman to go to work. The worker thought he appeared to understand the diagnosis and was willing to follow recommendations. He and his wife refused financial assistance, preferring to manage alone. At that time we did not know that the family had received public relief during the depression and had considered it a frightful experience. They had now exhausted their savings, had borrowed from relatives, and were managing on the \$14 per week that was the maximum which Mrs. Coleman, not having worked for twelve years, could earn as an office worker. The worker thought that Mrs. Coleman seemed willing to assume this responsibility over a long period of time, since the doctor had told her that Mr. Coleman, who had done heavy labor in a printing establishment, would never again have his full earning capacity because he would have to change to light, less well-paid work. The only hope which the family had at that time was a pending group health-insurance claim.

In this first contact Mrs. Coleman complained of being "nervous" because of a hysterectomy that had been performed by a private physician two years previously. She was taking "shots" to control this nervousness. She was fearful of having to discontinue the "shots" since her doctor could not continue with them unless he was paid. The worker's

impression after two interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Coleman was as follows:

Patient and wife seem to be intelligent and thus far have been resourceful. Wife has been co-operative and ambitious and has taken a sensible view of the situation. However, because of her health and nervousness and the need for someone to care for the children at home, she may become increasingly resentful of her position in the future.

Patient appears to be somewhat dependent and at the same time anxious about his dependence and about his family. He has expressed a desire to return to work, as another man has filled his job. If his anxieties cannot be alleviated, they may hinder his recovery.

Worker plans to discuss with patient and wife their financial plans and the possibility of more adequate medical care for wife.

Arrangements were made for free medical care for Mr. Coleman.

Here we see the focus in this situation set by the physician's referral statement, by the worker's orientation, and, incidentally, by the unavoidable expressions of the family's concerns. We are aware of anxieties and tensions in both Mr. and Mrs. Coleman; we have a vague feeling that they are related to the reversal of Mr. and Mrs. Coleman's positions in the family. But our clear-cut impressions and plans are related to the financial problem, which is an incontrovertible, grim reality.

Dr. Dunbar has said:

It is not primarily content or sequence of events that stands in relation to disease processes but rather mechanisms by means of which the patient has attempted to handle his problem; and it is not concrete worries, but unconscious conflicts that lead to somatic disorders.³

Does this mean that we, as medical social workers, should disregard the pressing financial problem, the inadequate medical care, and plunge into the unconscious conflicts that we suspect from observed

tensions? Of course not. But, perhaps, in helping Mr. and Mrs. Coleman with their "concrete worries," the worker might have been able to build a picture of the "mechanisms" by means of which they have attempted to handle their problems. Building this picture is within our province.

What did Mr. Coleman think and feel about his changed status in the family? What was his reaction to his wife's statement, in his presence, that she had to accept more responsibility now? What did Mr. Coleman think and feel about his drastically restricted activity? Why the flat denial of agency assistance in the face of overwhelming difficulties and growing debts? Would this kind of approach, still geared to our area of service, have alleviated some of the "anxieties that might have hindered his recovery"? The suggested course of inquiry seems related to the vague sense we had of Mr. Coleman's anxieties around his problems. It would have helped us to see the "mechanisms by means of which the patient attempts to handle his problem." In addition, it might have helped both the worker and Mr. Coleman to a less grueling solution of the concrete difficulties than the one he and his wife undertook without the worker's help.

The worker next learned that Mr. Coleman was feeling well and was resting as much as possible. He found the inactivity irksome, however, since he had always been an active person, indulging in competitive sports on a semiprofessional basis, as well as working.

It should be noted here that, during his first hospitalization, Mr. Coleman was referred to psychiatry for an evaluation of his possible response to a sympathectomy. Examination revealed that Mr. Coleman was not a good operative risk either psychologically or medically.

³ H. F. Dunbar, *Psychosomatic Diagnosis* (New York: Harper, 1943), p. 29.

The psychiatrist described Mr. Coleman as a restless, and formerly active, athletic person who cannot be unoccupied. He seemed to suppress his hostile feelings, although as a boy he had had a bad temper, which he had learned to control. The psychiatrist had the impression that Mr. Coleman had not yet permitted himself to recognize how seriously ill he was. The consultation concluded with a brief discussion of Mr. Coleman's need to learn to relax.

Three months later, this seemed to be a major problem with Mr. Coleman.

The family was still borrowing money from friends and relatives. Their rent was partially defrayed by Mr. Coleman's father, who was living with them. Mr. Coleman was thinking of enrolling in a defense training course, which plan the physician vetoed. Mrs. Coleman had given up her job after a short time as she felt inadequate in competition with experienced workers. She had been studying shorthand at home but had given that up and was now attending a defense training course five nights a week, although with grave doubts about her ability to pass the course. Mrs. Coleman had discontinued her "shots" because of inability to pay the fee and felt increasingly "nervous" because of this. Arrangements were made for her to attend the Gynecology Clinic of the hospital.

The worker's impression was that Mrs. Coleman seemed to have seized upon too many activities in a panic over the family's financial difficulties. She thought it doubtful that Mrs. Coleman would be able to contribute to the family's support. It was her further impression that continuation of free medical care for Mr. Coleman and encouragement in his plans for his future employment might allay some of his anxiety and make it easier for him to follow recom-

mendations. The worker planned "to try to help him find a satisfactory solution to these problems, if he expressed a desire to discuss them."

Here we see the family still valiantly straining in their efforts to meet their problems. Mr. Coleman is having difficulty with the enforced inactivity. Mrs. Coleman has met with difficulty in carrying her new responsibilities and has had to give up some of them. She seems to have retained, in the defense course, an effort that may not succeed.

What should these things have meant to the worker? The psychiatrist's notes contain a clue to Mr. Coleman's real difficulty—total inactivity. It seems likely that he might have been relieved and helped by a discussion directed toward the nature of his specific response to the regime, as adjustment to restrictions of this nature is extremely difficult even though the patient may unconsciously welcome the resultant release from responsibility. Although the doctor rejected the training plan, a discussion with Mr. Coleman of his close-to-the-surface feelings of inadequacy and restlessness might have led to some consideration of what he could do to occupy his time. We do not know how he did occupy his time. Is this a man of no inner resources, once his competitive athletics are taken from him? Is there some other way, not physically harmful, in which the restless, competitive desires can find an outlet?

A discussion concerning the difficulties involved for Mr. Coleman might have led, at least, to a release of his feelings about them; at most, to a resolving of them. We do not know in what ways patients can use our help until we offer it to them in the light of what we learn about their feelings, interests, and resources. The physician also was inter-

ested in Mr. Coleman's freedom from anxiety. But neither his recommendation nor the psychiatrist's admonition concerning the need for relaxation allayed that anxiety. This is where we could have helped the patient by our understanding of what it means to a man who habitually works off his aggressions through competitive activities and through ceaseless occupation to have these outlets suddenly denied him.

Mrs. Coleman obtains medical care that she might consider adequate. Is this alone going to help her to face her responsibilities? We see in her a need to meet them, a need of such urgency that she attempts the impossible and quixotically fails as though she needed to fail, needed to show that she really should not have to carry these responsibilities. Mrs. Coleman might have profited emotionally and practically from some attention to her feelings of resentment, helplessness, and panic, which might, in turn, have led to some consideration of what it was realistic for her to attempt to do. And, still, there is no discussion with the family of their feeling about taking assistance from an agency. Why is it better for them to continue to borrow from relatives than to apply to an agency? It is possible that a discussion of this subject would have indicated that it was better for various reasons. But we do not know this; and, in the meantime, the family is adding to its stresses by extreme sacrifice and by a multiplicity of plans and attempts that seem doomed to failure and is struggling with the added feeling of helplessness that these failures to maintain itself must surely engender.

One of the aims of good case work is to strengthen independence and to help the patient and his family to maintain their own ideal of independence whenever possible. But is not this another area where-

in we must look for the motivations, the feelings, that make the resultant activity irrational, producing the unnecessary sacrifice, the intolerable strain that we see in this family?

Subsequent contacts with the family cover a period of ten months of rather desultory interviews with Mr. Coleman after his infrequent clinic visits. It is noted that the group health-insurance claim was settled so that he was to receive \$25 per week for six months. The worker stated that this helped Mr. Coleman a great deal and that it had eased the tension in the household for both him and his wife. The doctor had said that continued improvement in Mr. Coleman's physical condition would allow for part-time work within a month or two. Five months later, within this ten-month period, Mr. Coleman notified the worker that he was working at lighter work at his former place of employment. He assured the worker that he was aware of the need for as much rest as possible and that he felt no further need for service. The case became inactive at this time.

This optimistic turn of affairs would seem to indicate that much of the concern over Mr. Coleman and his family was unjustified. Obviously, this was a family suffering only from the strain of financial insecurity and the shock of sudden, serious illness. When both these problems were alleviated, the family found itself on an even keel again, able to adjust to some changes, with or without the help of social service. The proof of this postulation would be found in the family's reactions to another crisis.

Unfortunately for the family just such a crisis occurred eight months after the case had been closed, when Mr. Coleman was admitted to the hospital because of a severe heart attack. During the first days of hospitalization it was not expected

that he would live. But he recovered better than was anticipated and was discharged after seven weeks to a convalescent hospital. The doctors thought that this convalescent period would be limited and that Mr. Coleman would be able to return to work in about three months.

The case became known to social service again shortly after Mr. Coleman was hospitalized, several weeks prior to his transfer to the convalescent hospital. During this period Mr. and Mrs. Coleman were seen frequently and consistently by the worker, although most of the work was done with Mrs. Coleman since Mr. Coleman seemed too ill to sustain interviews of a disturbing nature. It will be necessary, therefore, in the interest of time, to summarize the observations and the work done.

Immediately after this hospitalization and before social service knew of the admission, Mrs. Coleman rented out the lower floor of their house and she and the children moved to the top floor, which consisted of two large bedrooms. There were no sanitary facilities on this floor. Those on the first floor were shared with the renters. Mrs. Coleman had purchased an electric grill for cooking and carried water upstairs for cooking and washing. The money she received for rent covered her rent, fuel, light, gas, and water bills. Mrs. Coleman told of this arrangement with much uneasiness, hastening to add that it relieved her of a great deal of anxiety, that she had not known what else to do, that she had not had the courage to tell Mr. Coleman as he would strenuously object, and that, besides, the doctor had told her early in the hospitalization to make her plans without Mr. Coleman. The rest of the family's expenses were covered for the first three months by Mr. Coleman's

salary, which was continued by his firm. At the end of this period, the firm continued payment of half his salary for another three months. Hospital costs were met by a group hospitalization plan. Even though the Colemans had repaid to their friends and families all their debts that had accrued during the last illness, there was no borrowing from them this time.

Once again we see Mrs. Coleman embarking upon a resourceful but extremely difficult plan, as though she again had acted in panic to meet the new crisis. In an effort to be helpful to the Colemans during this new difficulty, it was decided that the worker would focus her attention on Mrs. Coleman and her needs in the situation, to see if support and discussion with her would lead to a release of her anxiety so that she could become more planful and more comfortable. Another worker saw Mr. Coleman on a supportive basis. In the course of interviews with Mrs. Coleman the following picture was obtained.

Mrs. Coleman had been working for a short time before Mr. Coleman became ill, but she had found it very difficult because she had been feeling progressively worse, enough so that she had thought of stopping before Mr. Coleman's attack. She had not been satisfied with the care she had been receiving in the Gynecology Clinic because it did not seem to relieve her "nervousness." She had recently been referred to the Gastrointestinal Clinic for severe diarrhea and abdominal distress. After a series of tests she had been told that her difficulties were of "nervous" origin. She spoke of this resentfully and needed a great deal of assurance from the worker that worry and anxiety could cause real pain and physical distress. As Mrs. Coleman talked of her day-to-day encounters, she revealed that

it had become increasingly difficult for her to manage. Several times she had been frightened because, when she became angry or upset, she found that she lost control of her voice and limbs. She had no patience with the children and was alternately resentful of the fact that they continued to need her and the fact that she had no time for them. The extent of her conflict over her own pressing needs and those of her family was clearly defined when the doctor indicated that Mr. Coleman was doing better than had been expected and that plans for his going home could be made. Mrs. Coleman frankly stated at this time that she could not face his coming home. She said that she was not feeling well enough to give him the kind of care that he needed; that he would not like the present arrangements and she saw no other way of planning things; that she had expected to go to work as soon as she felt better; that the children, particularly Beatrice, were upset at the sight of their father as an invalid; and, finally, that she did not feel emotionally up to having him home because of the long strain she had been under and because Mr. Coleman was a very difficult patient. She accusingly said that nobody at the hospital knew how difficult he was. We all liked him and thought he was a good patient, she said, but only she knew how stubborn, domineering, uncompromising, and insistent on his own way he was. She was sure that he had had this new attack because, after his first hospitalization eighteen months before, he had not followed recommendations. During the summer of the social service contacts described earlier, Mr. Coleman had gone hunting and had gone to work full time instead of part time as had been suggested. In addition, Mrs. Coleman did not think that she could stand the strain and fear of having to

get him back to the hospital in case of another attack. She further felt that Mr. Coleman himself felt "safe" in the hospital.

With this clarification of the problems in the situation—problems that we had only speculated about previously—there was considerable clarification for the worker of the choices of treatment. Here was a problem of family equilibrium—a problem of where to attempt to break the circle of conflict and where to support the weak parts. After considerable thought, it was finally decided that, although Mr. Coleman was the patient, Mrs. Coleman's emotional stability and willingness to assume responsibility were the keys to adequate convalescent care for Mr. Coleman. At the same time, however, the worker who had been seeing Mr. Coleman had obtained a clearer picture of him, which revealed that he had always been the economic and social head of his family and that any change in his status, accompanied by physical inactivity, was a factor that affected the family equilibrium as much as Mrs. Coleman's frame of mind did. Nevertheless, the crux of the situation seemed to be Mrs. Coleman's unwillingness to have Mr. Coleman come home. Thus it was decided that the worker's efforts would be directed toward working out this problem; and, when alternatives were clear, Mr. Coleman's worker would discuss them with him. Accordingly, with continual emphasis to Mrs. Coleman on the difficulties she was facing, on the courage she had thus far shown, and on the continuing need of the family for her support, several plans were discussed with her. Agency assistance was again suggested. This she again refused, insisting that both she and Mr. Coleman would rather suffer any inconvenience than ask for agency help. It was further

suggested that an agency might be able to supply a housekeeper to look after Mr. Coleman and the children and that Mrs. Coleman could go to work, since that was the wish she expressed. At this time, the family's experience with the depression agency came out, and the worker interpreted the family-agency services to her. This plan was not feasible for Mrs. Coleman either. When the cost of convalescent care was discussed with her, Mrs. Coleman said that she would go to work to pay for it, even though every day she told the worker how bad she was feeling and how difficult it was for her to do the minimum that was expected of her. Finally, after a great deal of effort and emotional strain, Mrs. Coleman made her own arrangements with the Convalescent Hospital through the influence of some friends. Now Mr. Coleman's worker was left with no alternatives to discuss with him—only a decision that had been made without him. Naturally, he was upset and extremely resentful that such an important plan had been made without him, although he eventually told the worker and the doctors that he could see that this was a sensible plan. He was discharged to the Convalescent Hospital. On the way there, he suffered another attack.

What had happened in this period of planning? It was plain that the workers involved had a clearer understanding of the underlying needs of Mr. and Mrs. Coleman than was exhibited in the previous contact. But how was that understanding manipulated? Along with Mrs. Coleman's basic and crippling dependency we have a new factor, her feeling of guilt with regard to Mr. Coleman—guilt for having so quickly taken the physician at his word to plan without her husband, for having accepted so quickly the idea that he was going to die. Her

worker was aware of this feeling and showed her awareness by her constant attempt to use it in suggesting to Mrs. Coleman that perhaps the sacrifice of applying to an agency for help in order to have Mr. Coleman at home would be worth making in the good Mr. Coleman would receive from such a plan. Mrs. Coleman, with unconscious but wise self-protection, refused this plan until she could become used to the idea of having to plan with Mr. Coleman in the picture again. Could the worker have been constructive in this area? Mrs. Coleman was more than partially aware of her own feelings concerning this problem. Witness her uneasiness in telling of her housing arrangements; her strong feelings in justifying her decision to have Mr. Coleman go to the Convalescent Hospital. It is within our area to help Mrs. Coleman to face her reluctance to have Mr. Coleman dependent upon her and her resultant feeling of guilt. Mrs. Coleman could have been assisted to accept this responsibility with some acknowledgment that she would resent it and that this was natural. Instead, the work was directed toward buttressing Mrs. Coleman's conscious insistence that she wished to be independent and would go to any ends to remain so. We know by now that Mrs. Coleman was finding independence a most difficult role to sustain. In case we had had any doubts, however, they were dispelled in the same interview in which Mrs. Coleman indicated that she could go to work to pay for convalescent care. She announced to the worker then that she thought that the physician in the Gastrointestinal Clinic was going to suggest hospitalization for her and that she was looking forward to it! In fact, she had made arrangements for the children to be cared for by her sister, a plan she had previously refused

—this in the midst of crucial planning for her husband. The doctor, of course, had not considered such a plan. When we insisted on a role for Mrs. Coleman that she could not sustain, she sought escape. Mrs. Coleman was asking and ready for a frank recognition and acceptance of her own need to be cared for and her feeling of guilt about it. Certainly the added burden of guilt, so apparently related to the planning, that she must have accrued to herself with the new attack must have been intolerable.

The additional hardship that was worked upon Mr. Coleman, and through him upon Mrs. Coleman, in not being drawn into the planning early is fairly obvious. Was it better for Mr. Coleman to swallow his disappointment and resentment over this obvious rejection, or was it better for him to be able to talk them out while he was still in the hospital and to come to some philosophy about his situation and that of his wife? From what we know about the relationship of repressed emotion to somatic symptoms, it is safe to speculate that less harm would have come to Mr. Coleman had he had an opportunity to discuss his feelings as well as to retain part of his function as head of the household.

When Mr. Coleman arrived at the Convalescent Hospital, he was put on absolute bed-rest in that hospital for a month, after which he returned to his home. For the first two weeks at home, Mr. Coleman felt quite well during the day but suffered from acute shortness of breath at night, which increased in severity so that he was again rushed to the hospital in heart failure. With this hospitalization, the physicians felt that the illness picture had changed for the worse and that the prognosis was not good. The most that could be hoped for was discharge to his home on a chair and

bed regime for an extended period. There was grave doubt that Mr. Coleman would ever be able to work again. At this time, Mr. Coleman told the worker that he attributed this attack, in part, to the living arrangements described above, because he had been dissatisfied and "cooped up" in their two rooms and constantly aggravated by his intense dislike for all that the plan symbolized to him.

After this hospitalization, Mr. Coleman went home; the renters were asked to leave; Mrs. Coleman took on part-time work; and the family did apply to the family service agency for assistance, which they received on a supplemental basis. As Mr. Coleman became able to get around, the agency conducted the family planning with him. During this period Mrs. Coleman still attended the clinic for the same complaints, but continuing interviews with a new worker in the hospital developed some insight until she was free enough to tell the worker that an additional factor in her disturbance during Mr. Coleman's hospitalization was the difficulty she had been having with Beatrice.

Beatrice had been attending the adult cardiac clinic for study and treatment of rheumatic heart. She had been responsible for most of the household duties while her mother spent the necessary time with Mr. Coleman. Beatrice had been increasingly moody, had had alarming temper outbursts and crying spells when she would wish herself and her mother dead. She also had had increased symptoms referred to her heart. With the father's return to the home and with Mrs. Coleman's taking over of the household, Beatrice had begun to make complaints of abdominal distress and had been staying home from school because of "nervousness." A general physical checkup revealed no basis for stomach

distress. At the mother's behest, a request was made of the cardiologist for a psychiatric referral for Beatrice, which he refused. He strongly reassured both Mrs. Coleman and Beatrice that nothing was wrong with Beatrice's heart although she was a Class I cardiac and was expected to attend the clinic at least twice a year. Mrs. Coleman and Beatrice were relieved by the doctor's statement, but Beatrice continues to have severe gastrointestinal upsets from time to time. She does not wish to do anything about it, stating that everybody has to have some pain. At about the same time, Corinne, who had been receiving treatment in the pediatrics clinic for malnutrition and a functional murmur, began to complain of shortness of breath and easy fatigability. Mrs. Coleman did not think these complaints were serious.

Mr. Coleman has been able to return to work; Mrs. Coleman is working; and Beatrice is doing very well in school, as is Corinne. Mrs. Coleman is still not feeling well, but she feels better than she did in the crisis situation. The family seems to have returned to a comfortable, practical equilibrium but with a continuing evidence of strains in that equilibrium expressed in somatic symptoms—with Beatrice apparently the new danger spot.

It is true that it is dangerous to base fundamental questions concerning case-work practice and understanding on one case. But because of the nature of this case and the opportunity that was afforded to study the entire family unit, it seems safe to say that the problems presented by it can be multiplied in whole or in part in various phases of our work. This case is unusual because it is not always possible, as it was here, to see the worker, the patient, and the family reacting to the crucial periods of referral to social service, hospitalizations, and dis-

charge planning. But it is possible to see that many of the things which happened in this situation happen, from time to time, in other situations to deter us from focusing on what the crucial periods and the activity undertaken mean to the patient and his family. We are frequently deterred by a literal adherence to the doctor's referral and his opinion of the various factors in the situation. We are deterred by our absorption with the urgencies of the concrete needs presented by the patient and his family without enough consideration of the basic meaning these needs will have to the patient. We are further deterred by our own activity or frustration with what the community has to offer in the way of solutions to the concrete concerns, without consideration of the meaning which the use of these community resources has for the patient and his family. It must be repeated that this does not mean that the doctor's referral, the concrete needs of the patient, the necessity for discharge planning, the use of community resources are factors that we eschew—they are, rather, the foundation stones of our practice; but we must build upon these foundation stones by our understanding of how the specific patient whom we are serving relates to them.

Medical-social case work, then, must relate itself not only to new aspects of medical information but also, unerringly, to the basic concepts of case work. "Psychosomatic medicine" does not offer us a short cut in our case work; it offers us new medical knowledge that we shall learn to use and incorporate in our work in the medical setting. Because of its orientation to the emotional life of the patient, it places upon us the responsibility thoroughly to understand the emotional life of the patient through our practice of case work.

Our challenge, then, is found, as always, in our own area of case-work understanding. What we need is not new tools but rather a rethinking about case work and its basis—a reintegration of the principles of behavior applied to the person who is ill—a sharpening of skills, in case work and in our understanding of behavior, which will include the knowledge and the acceptance of the unity of the organism. Illness, therefore, must not be considered as an isolated episode that happens in the hospital or appears in the clinic but as a part of the ongoing experience of the human organism in its effort to adjust to its environment. The fundamental goal of medical-social workers thus becomes the same as that of social workers in any setting—to help individuals resolve and/or adjust to

problems presented by both the environment and the individuals' basic needs.

The important thing, then, is not what kind of personality develops hypertension, ulcers, arthritis, or diabetes but, rather, our understanding of and ability to determine "the patient's ability to adjust to certain life situations, especially his pattern of reacting to them, the degree of pent-up anxiety, the nature and seriousness of his conflicts." This need to understand is common to all who attempt professionally to help those in trouble. Only in this way, in the new vistas that open before us in medical practice, shall we be able to understand and meet the patient's needs through case work.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOME ESSENTIALS IN NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH PLANNING¹

DANIEL BLAIN, M.D.

WHEN eight million people,² constituting 6 per cent of the total population, are suffering from some form of mental disease or personality disorder, the branch of science devoted to that group of diseases finds itself facing an overwhelming responsibility; and when the six to eight million families of these people are affected by their sick relatives, a large and important portion of the total population is profoundly disturbed. The problem belongs not to medical science alone but is related to all groups of society.

Accounting for over half of all hospital beds in the civil population and for the larger part of the medical and disability discharges from the armed forces, psychiatry is obviously swamping the medical profession. Psychiatry and the medical profession (and I include all specially trained auxiliary groups in the medical profession) are in both an enviable and a dangerous position today. Faced with the task of stemming a rising tide, they have a glorious opportunity for national service. If, however, they fail to exert leadership and to deal successfully with mental diseases and maladjustment, the prime responsibility will be taken away and will fall into the hands of others.

The problem is of the group rather than of the individual. While the original causes of the major mental diseases are still unknown, we believe that they are

aggravated by the stresses and strains of life. They are in the minority. The psychoneuroses, on the other hand, constitute the far greater number of cases, and a good deal is known of their etiology. No illnesses are so related to the interplay of an individual and his environment as are those in the mental and emotional field. Conflicts within an individual are related to repression of one or another instinctive drive. These conflicts are profoundly affected by the cultural and ethical pattern of the family and by the mores of the community. Difficulties in the realm of interpersonal relationships obviously are influenced by others besides oneself. The neuroses, therefore, cannot be handled without reference to the community at large and they are closely connected to the state of the group or nation. Just as Ulysses said, "I am a part of all that I have seen," so the neurotic reaction is made up of all of life's experience. With this in mind, it is appropriate to speak of national planning, for any plan to eradicate mental and emotional illness is national in scope, in distribution, in size, and in importance.

It is well at this point to suggest an orientation toward the problem which I believe is important. Our attention is traditionally focused on the 6 per cent who are sick. It is the 94 per cent who are well who are the most important. Mental health is more important than mental disease. Viewed without sentiment, healthy people are more important than sick people. There are more of them; they

¹ A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, Buffalo, May 21, 1946.

² Hearings Neuropsychiatric Institute Bill and Social Security Board (private communication).

do their share of the world's work, produce enough in excess to provide for children and the aged; and they care for the sick. It is in changing sick people into healthy people and in keeping the healthy from getting sick that medical science finds its chief reason for existence. Planning for mental health must therefore emphasize a positive concept, *health*, rather than a negative concept, *disease*.

The Veterans Administration has among its beneficiaries a large portion of the adult male population. Its psychiatric problem is quite similar to that described for the general public, in that 60 per cent of its beds are devoted to neuropsychiatry and that three out of five claims for disability pensions are neuropsychiatric in origin. Neuropsychiatric hospitals now contain about 50,000 patients. It is estimated that 200,000 beds will be needed by 1975, at which time the peak load should be reached. Estimates of those needing outpatient care are vague but are based on the 581,000 discharges from the services for mental condition and inaptitude. According to a survey just completed in a small eastern state, of 2,600 veterans receiving pensions for psychiatric disorders, over 50 per cent, in the opinion of the psychiatrists making the examinations, needed outpatient treatment and would have benefited from it. This is 1,300 veterans, or 2 per cent of the entire 64,000 who had returned from World War II. It is estimated that one hundred thousand veterans need treatment now. How this figure will increase or decrease is an unknown factor. Since every available mental hygiene clinic is operating to capacity, no ratio of the number of patients for a given population unit can be demonstrated.

In the last few months efforts have been made in the Neuropsychiatric

Division of the V.A. not only to handle the immediate hospital emergencies but to lay a broad and solid foundation for effective work over a period of years. It is natural that in the course of these efforts certain ideas have emerged and have become crystallized into policy. These ideas serve as guideposts in our planning. Although the federal government has by congressional action fixed the responsibility for 20,000,000 veterans on the V.A. for service-connected disability and for hospitalization of non-service-connected illness under certain circumstances, the very nature of psychiatric disorders precludes independent planning. Just as the general causes operating to produce neurosis are common to all members of the total population, so the shortage of all facilities indicates a sharing of all assets. Veterans are a part of the general population. Efforts on our part, in the V.A., in care and prevention will be of no avail unless they are matched by similar efforts throughout the country. From the standpoint of the V.A. national planning is, therefore, of prime importance if we are to carry out our responsibilities.

National planning for mental health has been haphazard and piecemeal. For a comprehensive study of certain aspects of the problem I recommend the symposium entitled "Mental Health," held under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and published in 1939. Unfortunately, the great increase in mental disorders brought on by the war and the sudden discovery that an alarming part of the population was unfit for military service came after this study. There are, as a result, large gaps in its coverage of the total problem, but it remains the best compendium to date.

Dr. Robert Felix, chief of the Mental

Hygiene Division of the Public Health Service, in anticipating passage of the National Psychiatric Institute Bill, has presented "A Plan of National Scope."³ He lists five points on which to attack the problem of caring for the mentally ill: (1) research; (2) training of personnel of all types; (3) additional outpatient clinical facilities for prophylactic and early therapeutic work; (4) better care of the hospitalized patient; and (5) education of the public for better care of convalescent patients and of themselves. We in the V.A. are interested in giving "good medical care" and all that that implies. We are now working on improvement of present hospitals as regards more personnel and better equipment; new hospitals with the most up-to-date architectural plans, located in areas near medical schools and associated with them; creation of a chain of mental hygiene clinics adequately staffed with social workers and clinical psychologists; and arrangements with all Grade A medical schools to start postgraduate training for specialization in psychiatry. We have about 100 residents now and hope to have 600 to 800 within a year. Almost all V.A. hospitals and mental hygiene clinics will be made into teaching centers. Money is available for research, both of clinical and of laboratory type.

In facing a desperate situation filled with emergencies and critical shortages in personnel we have found great deficiencies in knowledge and very little leadership on which to lean in solving a whole series of major problems. When billions of the people's money is going to be spent, there is an awful obligation to see that it is spent wisely. When thousands of our best young men are needing immediate definitive treatment, we are

impressed with the necessity that methods and techniques shall be right, that these men shall not say, years later, "If only I had been treated in time. If only I had had something better than was offered, I would not be as I am now." So we are asking ourselves many questions. Our suggestions for national planning come in the form of queries. I am not giving the answers. I am putting up to you and other responsible groups the task of shaping this plan. You will see where we are puzzled and looking for help.

1. What is the real nature and extent of the psychiatric problem of this country? This demands a thorough, comprehensive survey. No effective plan can be devised until the problem itself is defined, understood, and evaluated. No one is satisfied with our present knowledge. Statistics are uncertain, often based on changing nomenclature. The emphasis has been on psychotics, yet the great burden of the load is in the field of the neuroses and maladjustment, and the extent of these is almost completely unknown. Past figures have come from hospitals where professional skill was often inadequate, where little definitive treatment was carried on, and where custodial residence was about all that was afforded. Have we any data on large numbers of patients, in any category, in whose cases vigorous treatment was commenced early, under proper conditions, and carried on to completion? These data are found in only a small percentage of hospitals.

What do we know of the extent and nature of mental disease and personality disorder in children, in young and aged adults, and the relation of one to the other? Of reactions in various races found in this country? Of the effects of national strains mixing to form the aver-

³ Address before the Ohio State Society for Mental Hygiene, January, 1946.

age American? Can we make any comparisons as regards those who are rich, poor, and intermediate; the literate and the illiterate; those of superior and lesser intelligence; the urban and the rural; those who live in hot and cold parts of the country; or the various groups of employed—farmers, miners, seamen, white-collar workers, day laborers, migratory groups, tramps?

Much could be gained by comparing our situation with that in other cultures, studying the effects of fatalism and comparing the incidence and nature of mental disease in countries dominated by various religions, such as the Buddhist, Mohammedan, Christian. I have been told that there is no mental illness to speak of in the Near East. Is this true, and if so, why? Does the youth or age of a country have a bearing on the precipitation of mental disease? Are we softer and more vulnerable than in pioneer days? Do the enthusiasm and grandiose ideas of those from a pioneer state like Texas, which has, moreover, superior wealth and natural resources, make Texans more immune to neuroticism or less immune?

What about national trends? Do they affect the incidence of nervous breakdown? Are rugged individuals tougher than the proponents of a "strong White Father in Washington" who gives security to all? Is the modern concept of welfare work as found in the policies of the Social Security Board as good as it appears to be, or should we expect further modification with the passage of time? Are backers of free enterprise different in emotional makeup from advocates of totalitarianism?

Is it possible to retreat from freedom into slavery, pushed by freedom-engendered anxiety? Is the freedom of the individual, inherent in the democratic

process, a source of great emotional conflict? Is there such a thing as a national psychosis, or neurosis or hysteria? Is it not true that we are now in a state of hysteria with conversion (or nonconversion) symptoms? Is there a true epidemiology of behavior? Can a nation be drunk with power and success and suffer a national hangover or go into a state of mania, perhaps induced by hidden anxiety over success and its implications? Is business in a state of suspended animation, or is it paralyzed by neurotic fear caused by the failure of leadership? Or are we all merely exhausted?

I am suggesting that we learn more about what is called the group; that we integrate the work of anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists concerning mass reactions, the effect of interpersonal relationships, and the effect on man of belonging to a society; that we learn how the intimate details of that society—its inheritance, its mores, its protective mechanism—affect men singly or in large numbers. We should know the various factors operating to influence or produce mental disease and personality disorder.

A comprehensive survey on all factors such as those mentioned above should be planned to extend over a longitudinal section of the nation's life. It should be in the hands of a committee of experts, representing all phases of society. It should work for five or ten years and come out with reliable information.

2. What are the available assets? An early part of a planning program would be a study of available assets. All hospitals in the country—state and federal hospitals and private hospitals—should be surveyed to determine exactly what is going on. It would be valuable to get together the good points and the bad points of existing institutions and to see what is

needed to bring them up to a set standard in equipment, in personnel, and in treatment methods. Perhaps a co-ordinated effort would succeed better than isolated individual efforts. Such a co-ordinated drive might produce an increase in state and federal appropriations; certainly it would aid in a proper sharing of what little personnel and money there is. Duplication in special projects could be prevented, greater team work inaugurated, more personnel trained, and better care of patients achieved. If the present method of cost accounting could be changed from cost of patient per day to cost of patient per treatment period, it would be shown that economy which prevents adequate treatment and produces permanent hospitalization is false economy in the long run.

3. What are the functions of each of us in solving the problems? We need to fix the responsibility and functions of all who are concerned with the sick. In long-time planning for mental health it is important to know who is responsible for carrying out any plans that may be devised. Does mental disease belong with tuberculosis and venereal disease as a major public health hazard, to be turned over to the state as they are? Should mental health be the responsibility of government, of professional or volunteer organizations, or of individual doctors? If government, should it be federal, state, county, or municipal? Among organizations one thinks of specialty groups representing psychiatry, neurology, psychology, nursing, social work, physical medicine, occupational therapy, dietetics, and others; also the National Education Association. There are the two great volunteer groups, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the new National Mental Health Foundation. Alcoholics Anonymous is making a

great contribution in one field. There are the great foundations, contributing to medical problems of their own choice. There are the great religious bodies, exerting a profound influence on human behavior and welfare; the fraternal groups—the Masons, the Knights of Columbus—civic groups, veterans' organizations, great bodies of organized labor, and the rapidly organizing employer groups with their interest in the welfare of their constituent members.

The individual doctor, nurse, social worker, and psychologist will always take care of individuals and be aided by laymen from all fields. Perhaps one role of national planning will be to provide more individual workers, to build a framework for their co-operative efforts, and to see that these efforts are related to all groups in contact with the patient.

Wherever the responsibility lies, there is little evidence of co-ordination of the force and ability which is available in all these powerful organizations. There becomes more and more apparent the absence of leadership and guidance in developing a drive for mental health. The only exception in this respect is the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Co-operation is relatively easy to obtain, as everybody wants to help; co-ordination is more difficult, for this requires a jockeying of forces, frequent giving way to the other fellow, and ironing out of important differences in point of view and method.

4. What are the proper functions of various professional groups? Much clarification need be given to the problem of who is authorized to treat mental disease and personality disorders. The present status of those assuming a therapeutic role is confused. Doctors are legally entitled to practice medicine and surgery, and these terms include all specialties in

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the medical profession. In some states psychologists are licensed to engage in private practice, the nature of which is not well defined. Others are also interested in treatment phases, especially in psychiatry—social workers and psychologists feel that they should be assigned a therapeutic role and not be treated as technicians only. It is obvious that the real pleasure in medical activities is in the patient-doctor relationship and in having a share in working with the patient directly. This is understandable and should be recognized. Doctors are accused of holding to the position that they alone should treat disease. This is unjustified and entirely unrealistic. Especially in psychiatry is it well known that all contacts the patient has affect him either favorably or adversely. Many factors outside the doctor contribute to the eventual outcome. Many patients are treated by individuals without M.D. degrees, and many do well; just as many, working with doctors, do not do well. A realistic view must be taken of these things, but, for the sake of honesty and ethics, the proper role of each person should be carefully outlined. In the V.A. we have arrived at a decision as to what part in the therapeutic process is to be assigned to clinical psychologists and medical social workers. The decision is based on the training, experience, and ability of any individual clinical psychologist or social worker. I believe that responsibility should cut across professional lines and be based on the solid foundation of individual training, experience, and ability. We recognize the position that each worker desires, assign a share of therapeutic responsibility, and place limits on the extent to which they shall go. The doctors have made the decision as to when to delegate responsibility because, under pres-

ent laws, this responsibility rests with us.

His long period of training and the doctor's position under present laws place him in the strategic position which he holds. People have always looked up to doctors, chiefly because of the large percentage who are unselfishly interested in the good of the patient. There are signs that the medical profession is not exerting the leadership expected of it. Certainly medical people should be out in the forefront in organizing all people who may be brought into a helpful relationship with the problem of psychiatry; helping each group to find its proper role and aiding in the development of all the contributing groups for the common welfare.

5. What is the value of the team concept? A most important concept in modern psychiatry is the use of team work in giving the patient "good medical care." Modern diagnosis and therapy are not best accomplished by an individual psychiatrist. All patients need careful social service and psychological work-up and follow-up. Nursing is essential in hospitals, and the visiting nurse outside. A skilled psychiatrist who knows the functions of the nurse, social worker, and clinical psychologist and has some experience in group work can adequately handle five to ten times as many patients as he can without such knowledge and experience. He not only can care for more, but the quality of care is markedly enhanced. Outside the inner circle of four, mentioned above, the team also includes all the groups of people who come in contact with the patient: hospital gatekeepers, guards, receptionists, volunteers, those in occupational therapy and physiotherapy, recreation specialists, and the families of the patients. In clinics there are essentially the same

groups, with emphasis on the homes and families. All members of the team need to be brought consciously into the picture, trained, and assigned to their proper roles. Team work implies: (1) co-ordination of all persons participating in the therapeutic effort; (2) the recognition of all persons who come in contact with the patient as actively aiding or retarding his improvement; (3) a clear understanding of the function of each member of the team, both in his mind and in that of the doctor, and then assignment of each person to his rightful place; (4) leadership on the part of the doctor toward all phases of this mutually co-operative effort.

6. Where does psychiatry belong in the field of medicine? Any plan for meeting the psychiatric problem of the nation should include the proper orientation of psychiatry in the medical world. Modern concepts in psychiatric treatment call for less isolation, more participation by men in other specialties, more emphasis on early treatment of acute cases, more of what in the war has been called rehabilitation, and that to start with earlier phases of convalescence. As more and more emphasis is placed on psychosomatic conditions, it is more than ever necessary for psychiatrists to be in close contact with all branches of medicine and surgery. This makes for better psychiatry, better medicine and surgery, and better doctors in all fields. Therefore, there should be fewer neuropsychiatric hospitals built, and none should be in an isolated area. All general hospitals should have treatment facilities for psychotic and psychoneurotic patients. All mental hygiene clinics should be part of, and associated with, general medical and surgical clinics.

Furthermore, all doctors should have a great deal more psychiatry in under-

graduate medical schools, and all post-graduate specialization should include a large amount of psychiatry, even in the subspecialties of medicine and surgery. This is necessary because of the emotional involvement in all medical and surgical conditions. General practitioners, in particular, should have considerable training in psychiatry. They probably see the bulk of nervous cases and almost always see them first. They should not refer all such cases. Many should be handled in the general practitioner's office; and patients do better if he has some special knowledge to back up his usual great supply of common sense and interest in his patients

7. What is the importance of a teaching program? It is recognized that the best hospital care is found where teaching is going on. This may be because more thoroughness and intellectual curiosity is found in those who like to teach, though this is not always true; and some academic-minded people are not good clinicians. Most likely it is due to the pressure of young, vigorous, inquiring minds that stimulate the doctor to exert his best efforts. All psychiatric hospitals should be near medical schools and should have an active teaching program. Those now in isolated areas should import, on numerous occasions, leaders in various fields of medicine to keep the staff members on their toes and to aid in their advancement. Each hospital would do well to have a teaching position created and, in this position, a doctor with teaching experience, who would correlate all teaching and special studies and clinical research. In the V.A., we are happy to say, all the foregoing ideas are incorporated. Residencies and staff training are rapidly being established in the great majority of our hospitals. We are affiliated with medical schools every-

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where and have already placed good teachers in many hospitals.

8. Where can we find the people to do the work? The need for more personnel is now an old story, but one wonders why the sudden shortage. The Army has dwindled to insignificance, and most men and women are back from the war; most war factories are closed; yet we are short in nearly every category. Certainly many people are tired and exhausted from the war effort and are not as productive as before, but this, of course, is temporary. I believe the demand lies partly in the increased recognition, brought on by the war, of the value of trained specialists. It lies also in the increase in psychiatric disorders now brought to our attention and in an increased desire, throughout the country, to take better care of medical and related problems. Long-time planning probably will show the need for a greater number of graduates in all the specialty schools. It will call for a much greater relative increase in the teaching of psychiatric principles in medicine, nursing, social work, and psychology. It will alter qualitatively the curriculum of all schools, with at least orientation, and often basic training, in principles of psychiatry. It will call for recognition of the psychological side in all walks of life and in training for every phase of living and every profession.

The personnel problem will continue to be acute. It would be economically as well as socially bad to accept every kind of candidate for psychiatric postgraduate training. Therefore, selection of candidates will become important. The V.A. has just made a grant for research to discover the kind of doctor who is likely to make good in psychiatry. We hope to uncover some basic principles of selection and to apply these to doctors coming

into the training program of the Neuro-psychiatric Division of the V.A. I predict it will not be long before improved methods of selection will be common to all graduate schools and will extend to undergraduate schools. Perhaps schools for social work are ahead of medical education in this regard. I am sure you will be interested in the results of this study.

The number of psychiatrists needed has been estimated up to 20,000. That means 40,000 psychiatric social workers, and 20,000 clinical psychologists, according to the generally accepted ratio. It may be that this number can be reduced if greater use can be made of other personnel. The team-work principle will extend the usefulness of all trained individuals. This will modify the need somewhat. The reluctance of doctors to turn over therapeutic responsibility must be overcome in order that more people may be used. But this point must be made: responsibility for life and death is a serious thing. A mistake may prolong an illness. Failure to diagnose and treat a condition in its early stages frequently means an early death or a life of torment for the sufferer. We believe the solution to most psychiatric disorders is bound up in a combination of organic or physical plus psychological causes, requiring basic knowledge of the entire body-mind machine. Real understanding of complex conditions cannot be obtained without long years of study and considerable experience. College, four years of basic medicine, general internship, and several years of postgraduate training go into the making of a psychiatrist.

Many people resent the Jehovah complex frequently found in doctors, particularly specialists. Are they the only ones who should treat an illness? There is a feeling in many people that they, too, should be allowed to share medical re-

sponsibility. There is some jealousy, some envy, and some hate toward doctors often mixed with other attitudes of some persons who would like to treat patients suffering from mental and personality disorders. Nurses, psychologists, and social workers sometimes fit poorly into a team, when team work is essential. The doctor is often at fault. He may be arbitrary, didactic, and have a Napoleonic complex, and he is, sometimes, a poor doctor. It is necessary that all workers who have a common interest in mental disorders find common ground for working harmoniously together. There is room for all; each has an important place. I believe that we doctors would welcome the sharing of responsibility. All we ask is that the person who wants to take responsibility for an ill individual know what he is doing, come to his task well prepared, and be willing to pay the same price that doctors have to pay in terms of training, experience, and judgment. All professional people must pull together. We must do away with misunderstanding and jealousy and must fit into the role in which we as individuals belong. I am sure that there is no place where mental health is more needed than among professional workers among mental patients. Let us apply mental hygiene to ourselves for the benefit of the patient.

9. With 19,500,000 veterans in mind, I ask: What will keep these men and women well? Much less is known about prevention than about therapy. Pressure groups are powerful. Nuisance value is well known. No minority group can exert more pressure or has a greater nuisance value than those who are sick. We do not begrudge this. The sick and helpless have a special place in our hearts, and much of life's satisfaction comes from aiding others; but we are prone to yield to pres-

sure, exhaust ourselves with the emergency, and do little about preventing illness in those who are mentally healthy and who are beginning life. We neglect it also because we are indecisive—and we are indecisive because we are ignorant.

In the past, child guidance clinics have constituted the major effort in prevention. These clinics are making a great contribution, but there are so few of them that I doubt whether they affect the national picture at all.

Meeting the patient before he gets to the hospital, that is, treating a condition in a mental hygiene clinic while it is still in its milder stages, is a well accepted method of preventive psychiatry. Of course he is already sick when he comes. Mental hygiene clinics are also most suitable for psychoneuroses which should never be hospitalized in a mental hospital; and only when such cases are serious should they be treated even in a general hospital. We are setting up these clinics, and they will be good examples of team work in the best sense. The big increase in such clinics which we expect to come from grants-in-aid to states and medical institutions from the Pepper-Priest Bill, which is about to become law, will be a great addition to this form of preventive psychiatry. It is important that scientific checks be made on results in these clinics to see what they really accomplish. For our part, the success or failure of clinic work on veterans will be judged by the success or failure in reducing the number of hospital beds that have been estimated from past experience and in reducing the number of persons getting compensation for illness.

10. What is the relation of education to mental health? A good mental hygiene environment is obviously beneficial to children, and efforts are being made to get this into all schools. Homes are breed-

ing places of either happiness or harm. Parents (especially mothers), teachers, employers, foremen, personnel workers—all who are in charge of other people—need special knowledge to handle their charges. In these, education in mental health principles has to sift through an intermediary to reach the person needing help and direction.

We know that information and insight are of value to a person after he becomes ill. Much of a psychiatrist's time is spent in what is called re-education. What about giving all people, as a part of their education, some personal knowledge of mental health principles, adding psychophysiology to physiology; adding mental hygiene to classes in hygiene. I believe this to be a useful field to work, but there are many who are pessimistic, who say that to understand the nature of fear does not remove a danger. There are many of us who believe that understanding the nature of fear will reduce the fear, prevent it from being repressed, and often keep normal fear from changing into neurotic anxiety; all of which adds up to putting fear and anger into their proper places as problems to be solved.

It may be that one of the most fruitful elements in preventive psychiatry is to be found in clinical psychology. Better methods of diagnosis to supplement experience, more understanding of personality makeup in normal and abnormal persons, and better methods for evaluating results of therapeutic methods are all available from the field of clinical psychology. It is the solemn duty of all workers in the field of mental diseases to become better acquainted with the program of psychologists trained in clinical medicine. And it is the duty of psychologists to fit properly into the whole therapeutic team.

Prevention of mental diseases—

achievement of mental health for an entire nation—calls for the greatest possible effort and for co-ordination of all possible sources of aid. We must somehow marshal the energies, imagination, and co-operative effort of all groups of society. "Man does not live by bread alone"; he must have a good inheritance, freedom from disease, contentment, opportunity, freedom of expression, a degree of emotional satisfaction, some outlet for instinctive drives, a chance to grow and expand, some form of security, and a relationship with the Supreme Power of this universe.

"Man does not live by bread alone"—but he must have bread or he will die. Bread includes roofs and dollars and clothes, and some assurance that these will be available for minimum requirements. Psychologically speaking, there must be a nice balance between freedom and security. Free enterprise supposedly gives freedom; totalitarianism supposedly gives security. There is some doubt that either one delivers sixteen ounces to the pound of its main product.

One of the greatest forces now operating in this country is the Social Security Act and the various provisions for unemployment compensation. These must be scrutinized carefully for the end results, and a period of years must ensue before it is determined just how far these provisions should go. Freedom from want must be balanced by stimulation to produce. The human being who, for one reason or another, does not work at something and produce something will lose his zest for life and become a potential neurotic as well as a burden on himself and society. We must not, however, be too sure about this; it may be that such a statement is true only in certain kinds of society.

The state of the country will determine many of the successes and frustrations of its citizens. This is a tremendous force in adding to or reducing the burden of living. Socioeconomic laws are complex and baffling, but we must take them into consideration in national planning.

In closing, I would remind you that national planning for mental health is one of the great tasks that confront us. No plan can be formed until the problem is better understood. We must come to an understanding of the responsibilities of all the groups who must take part in its solution. We must evaluate present assets and join together in utilizing them to the utmost. We must provide personnel who will do full-time work in treatment of disease and production of mental health, and we must see that all others are well oriented and partially trained to help. Psychiatry must take its proper place in the medical world, team work shall improve the care of patients and expand personnel to greater usefulness.

Leadership is required. I urge you as members of one of the great humanitarian groups in the world to take your place in the front ranks of those trying to make this world a better place to live in. I urge you and your officers, you as an

organization, the National Conference of Social Work, to reach out into life and exert an influence proportionate to your strength and ideals. As social workers, trained in a professional discipline, you know more about the needs of human beings for the necessities of life than any other people in the world. Has this organization made its influence felt in the national housing crisis? Have you taken a stand for or against legislation bearing on the economic welfare of the people? Have the medical social work organizations had anything to say about the provision for the National Neuropsychiatric Institute Act? Have your leaders approached the American Psychiatric Association and said: "Look here, we are interested in the mental health of the country, too. Are you planning to exert some leadership in this situation? Can't we help, too? Let's get together and push."

I wish to express again my great admiration for the professional social worker and to say to them—No psychiatry worthy of the name can be done without your help.

NEUROPSYCHIATRIC DIVISION,
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE NEW BRITISH NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

JOHN MOSS, C.B.E.

AMERICANS will be interested to know something of the revolutionary changes which will be brought about in England and Wales by the National Health Service Bill, which will soon have passed the House of Commons. Until 1930 the only general hospitals in England and Wales were those provided by voluntary agencies. As in other parts of the world, religious enterprise was originally the motive power in getting hospitals founded. There are large teaching hospitals centered in London which have been in existence for over a century. At later dates other teaching hospitals—where medical students are trained—were set up in university centers in the provinces. These hospitals also were the original source for training nurses.

Boards of guardians which were established under the old Poor Law Act in the early part of the nineteenth century were responsible for all forms of institutional care for the needy poor, and provision was made first in the mixed workhouse; but in the early part of the twentieth century a number of the more important and progressive boards of guardians had established general hospitals arising out of the former Poor Law infirmaries. Probationer nurses were trained for the national certificate at some of these hospitals. It was not, however, until boards of guardians were abolished in 1930 that it became the duty of the larger local authorities to establish a hospital service. The powers of the boards of guardians were transferred to the counties and county boroughs. This means that in a county

like Kent, where there were twenty-six boards of guardians, the whole of the administration of the Poor Law service, including the hospital service, became the responsibility of the Kent County Council.

In Kent, the County Council has since developed some of the old Poor Law infirmaries into really fine hospitals. This was first done by the Public Assistance Committee. Latterly these hospitals have been taken over by the Public Health Committee of the County Council and are administered under Public Health powers and not under Poor Law powers. Similar action has been taken by many of the county boroughs and by some of the other counties; but, apart from noteworthy exceptions, such as London, the majority of the counties have done little toward the provision of really good general hospital services and have still left this activity mainly to the voluntary hospitals in their areas. Until a few years ago, these hospitals were financed entirely by subscriptions and donations, but latterly they have been supported very largely by workmen's contributions.

Sir William Beveridge in his famous Report recommended the setting up of a social insurance scheme which would include contributions toward a general hospital service. The National Insurance Bill, which is now before the British Parliament, provides for a comprehensive national insurance service; and, when it comes into operation, practically every adult in the country will contribute toward the cost of any benefits

that he will receive during sickness, unemployment, or as the result of any form of need. Contributions will also cover full hospital treatment and free medical attention.

The health provisions will be made under the National Health Service Bill, which provides for the establishment of a comprehensive health service throughout the country. A further bill will be introduced to deal with Scotland. The National Health Service Bill provides for the following kinds of health services:

(i) Hospital and specialist services—i.e., all forms of general and special hospital provision, including mental hospitals, together with sanatoria, maternity accommodation, treatment during convalescence, medical rehabilitation and other institutional treatment. These cover in-patient and out-patient services, the latter including clinics and dispensaries operated as part of any specialist service. The advice and services of specialists of all kinds are also to be made available, where necessary, at Health Centres and in the patient's home.

(ii) Health Centres and general practitioner services—i.e., general personal health care by doctors and dentists whom the patient chooses. These personal practitioner services are to be available both from the new publicly equipped Health Centres and also from the practitioners' own surgeries.

(iii) Various supplementary services—including midwifery, maternity and child welfare, health visiting, home-nursing, a priority dental service for children and expectant and nursing mothers, domestic help where needed on health grounds, vaccination and immunisation against infectious diseases, additional special care and after-care in cases of illness, ambulance services, blood transfusion and laboratory services.

(iv) The provision of spectacles, dentures and other appliances, together with drugs and medicines—at hospitals, Health Centres, clinics, pharmacists' shops and elsewhere, as may be appropriate.

All the service, or any part of it, is to be available to everyone in the country, irrespective of financial means, age, sex, employment or vocation, area of resi-

dence, or insurance qualification. It is hoped that the new service will be in operation at the beginning of 1948. The health service is to be financed partly from the Exchequer, partly from local rates, etc., and partly from national insurance contributions. The bill places a general duty on the Minister of Health to promote a comprehensive health service for the improvement of the physical and mental health of the people and for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of illness. At present in England different services administer general hospitals, mental hospitals, and mental-deficiency establishments. All these arrangements will come under the auspices of one service and be the responsibility of one government department. They will all be financed nationally. It will not matter, therefore, whether a hospital is in a poor or a rich area.

The bill proposes that the minister shall discharge his general responsibility through three main channels:

(a) For parts of the service to be organised on a new national or regional basis—i.e., hospital and specialist services, blood transfusion and bacteriological laboratories for the control of epidemics—the Minister is to assume direct responsibility; but he is to entrust the actual administration of the hospital and specialist services to new regional and local bodies established under the Bill. These bodies are to act on his behalf in suitable areas to be prescribed by him, and they are to include people of practical experience and local knowledge and some with professional qualifications. Special provision is made for hospitals which are the centres of medical and dental teaching.

(b) For parts of the service to be organised as a function of local government—i.e., the provision of new Health Centre premises and a variety of local domiciliary and clinic services—direct responsibility is put upon the major local authorities, the county and county borough councils. They will stand in their ordinary constitutional relationship with the central Minis-

try, but their general arrangements for these local services are made subject to the Minister's approval.

(c) For the personal practitioner services both in the Health Centres and outside—i.e., the family doctor and dentist and the pharmacist—new local executive machinery is created, in the form of local Executive Councils. One half of the members of each of these Councils will consist of people nominated by the major local authorities and by the Minister, and the other half of people nominated by the local professional practitioners concerned. There will normally be an Executive Council for each of the major local authorities' areas, and they will work within national regulations made by the Minister.

HOSPITAL AND SPECIALIST SERVICE

This part of the service covers hospitals and consultant services of all kinds, including general and special hospitals, maternity accommodation, tuberculosis sanatoriums, infectious-diseases units, provision for the chronic sick, mental hospitals and mental-deficiency institutions, accommodation for convalescent treatment and medical rehabilitation, and all forms of specialized treatment, e.g., orthopedics, cancer, neurosurgery, plastic surgery, pediatrics, gynecology, ophthalmic services, ear, nose, and throat treatment, and others. It is made the minister's general duty to provide these physical and mental hospital services, but he is to intrust their administration to regional hospital boards, together with separate boards of governors for the teaching hospitals.

The existing premises and equipment of voluntary and public hospitals are transferred to the minister under the bill, and he is empowered also to acquire by purchase—if necessary—other hospitals and their equipment which may be required for the purposes of the new service. The general transfer of hospitals

includes the present mental hospitals and mental-deficiency institutions.

Many of the hospitals—particularly the large teaching hospitals—have very considerable endowments. Under the bill, endowments of voluntary teaching hospitals will pass, not to the minister, but directly to the new board of governors, who are to be free to use them as they think best but are required, so far as practicable, to see that the purposes for which they were previously usable are still observed. The endowments of other voluntary hospitals are, however, to pass to a new hospital endowment fund which the minister is to set up and administer in the following way. He is first to meet from the fund, to such extent as may be settled by subsequent regulations, existing debts and liabilities attaching to the voluntary hospitals concerned. He is then to apportion the capital value of the fund among the several regional hospital boards and, as it were, to earmark to each a portion. The income of each portion will then pass automatically to each board, and it will be free to use it as it wishes, within such general conditions as may be prescribed. Any board will be able, at any time, to draw on its portion of the capital for any purpose which the minister approves. There has been considerable criticism of this proposal in the bill, since it has been suggested by some critics that this means confiscation and that it is unfair that any particular hospital should not be able to profit by its former benefactions. It seems clear in any case that there is little likelihood that public-spirited men and women will give large sums of money to hospitals in the future if, as under this scheme, there is no certainty that the money will be used in any particular hospital in which they are interested.

ADMINISTRATION

The minister is to intrust the future administration of all the hospitals, other than teaching hospitals, to regional hospital boards to be set up throughout the country. There will probably be between sixteen and twenty hospital regions. Each board will be composed of people chosen and appointed by the minister for their individual suitability to the task, but before making the appointments the minister is to consult any university with a medical school in the region, bodies representative of the medical profession, the local health authorities of the area, and others concerned, including, initially, those with experience in the voluntary hospital system. The boards are to include some members with experience in the mental-health services.

GENERAL PRACTITIONER SERVICES

There is to be a general practitioner service which covers the personal health services provided by general medical practitioners and dentists and the supply of drugs, medicines, and appliances. A main feature of the personal practitioner service is to be the development of health centers. This is a new idea, but one or two experimental centers had previously been established. It will be the duty of each county and county borough council to provide, equip, staff, and maintain these centers. Doctors and dentists who participate in the general practitioner service may operate from these centers, which will, in effect, stand in place of the doctors' own surgery; but the doctors' responsibility to the patients on their personal lists—e.g., in visiting the patients' homes and in general responsibility for their patients at all times—will not be affected, whether a

doctor practices from a health center or not. All doctors are to be entitled to take part in the new arrangements in the areas where they are already practicing when the scheme begins. They will, however, still be entitled to take private patients, but it is anticipated that the number of private patients will gradually diminish very considerably. People will be free to choose their own doctor subject to the doctor's consenting and being in a position to undertake their care.

The detailed terms and conditions for doctors for joining the service and the doctors' remuneration have not yet been decided. These are left to be settled later after consultation with the doctors' professional representatives. It is, however, the intention that remuneration should take the form of a combination of fixed part-salary and of capitation fees, the latter varying with the number of persons whose care is undertaken by each doctor and being so graduated as to diminish in scale as the total number of patients rises.

To help in dealing with the needs of underdoctored areas it is intended to adjust the scales of remuneration of doctors in order to provide additional inducement to practice in less attractive areas. In the past a doctor could start practicing by putting a plate on his door and waiting for patients to come. This is, however, rather a precarious way of starting practice; the more usual method is to join an existing firm, in which there may be one or two doctors already in practice, or to purchase a practice from which a doctor is about to retire. In the first place, money has to be paid for a share in the practice. Under the new arrangement the sale of the good-will of practices will become inappropriate, and the bill provides for the prohibition of

the sale of such practices in future and for compensation to existing practitioners for the consequent loss of selling values. When this idea was first mooted, it was described as confiscation; but when it was made clear that the doctors would be compensated for the loss they will sustain by not being able to sell practices in the future, it had to be agreed that the scheme is not unreasonable.

Doctors who join in the public service at the outset will be entitled to compensation for loss incurred through being unable thereafter to sell their practices. In addition, any doctor who dies or retires from practice and whose practice has not been sold in the meantime will qualify for compensation. The total amount of compensation to be made available to the profession under the bill is a sum of £66,000,000. The method of paying compensation has, however, not been finally determined. It is intended that the settling of the apportionment of compensation among the individual doctors shall be left in the main to the profession itself. Normally compensation will be payable on the retirement or death of a doctor, though payment at an earlier date will be arranged where hardship would otherwise arise.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

This part of the health service comprises the local and domiciliary services which are appropriate to local government rather than to central government or to any specially devised machinery. The bill unifies these services in the existing major local authorities—the county and county borough councils—and provides for the formation of joint boards wherever, exceptionally, this may be found desirable. For most of these

services the bill requires that the local health authorities indicate to the minister the way in which they intend to carry out their responsibilities, and it requires the minister's general approval. These authorities already have certain duties of a similar character, but in the case of maternity and child welfare services, for instance, in some parts of the country these duties are undertaken by certain of the smaller local authorities. In the future, small local authorities will have no duties at all in connection with health services.

The bill makes it the duty of every local health authority to make arrangements for the care of expectant and nursing mothers and of children under five years of age who are not attending school and who are not, therefore, covered by the school health service. Their arrangements will include antenatal clinics for the care of expectant mothers, postnatal and child clinics, the provision of such things as cod-liver oil, fruit juices, and other dietary supplements and, in particular, a priority dental service for expectant and nursing mothers and young children. The same authorities are also to be responsible for providing a complete midwifery service for mothers who are confined at home. This is at present the responsibility of county and county borough councils, but it is considered that the service will be extended considerably under the new scheme. Mothers who for any reason have their confinements in a hospital or maternity home will be in the care of the hospital and specialist service. It will also be the object of that service to provide locally for all specialist obstetric or gynecological care which may be needed in relation to the ordinary domiciliary service of the local authority.

It is made the duty of the local health authority to provide for a full health-visitor service for all in their area who are sick or expectant mothers, or for those with the care of young children. This widens the present conception of health visiting into a more general service of advice to households in which there is sickness or in which help of a preventive character may be needed. It is also made the duty of the local health authority to provide a home-nursing service for those who—for good reason—need nursing in their own homes.

Local health authorities are given a new power and duty, where the minister so requires, to make approved arrangements for the purpose of the prevention of illness and for the care and after-care of the sick. This can include such things as the provision of special foods, blankets, extra comforts and special accommodation for invalids and convalescents, and the making of grants to voluntary organizations doing work of this kind. In the past the only power to give assistance of this kind has been through the Poor Law authorities and even then to a much more limited extent than is contemplated under the new scheme.

Another activity of the new health authority will be in connection with domestic help. Under the existing law, local authorities are empowered to provide home helps as part of their maternity

and child welfare functions, and, during the war, this power has been extended by temporary enactments to enable them to provide domestic help in a wider range of circumstances. The bill makes this power permanent and extends it to cover the provision of domestic help, subject to the minister's approval, to any household in which it is needed on grounds of ill health, maternity, age, or the welfare of children. The local health authority will be allowed to make appropriate charge for this service.

Enough material has probably been presented here to show the comprehensive nature of these proposals. The bill deals only with matters of principle and leaves much to be handled by regulation. I am personally concerned in the new service, as many of the institutions now administered by the Kent County Council as the Public Assistance Authority, of which I am chief executive officer, will be transferred to the new hospital authorities. This, coupled with further legislation coming into operation under the National Insurance Scheme, will result in the final breaking-up or abolition of the Poor Law. Another bill will be necessary to deal with the remaining functions of Poor Law authorities, which will have to be transferred to some other authority or department.

COUNTY HALL OF KENT COUNTY, MAIDSTONE
LONDON, ENGLAND

STUDY OF INDEPENDENT ADOPTIONS IN CONNECTICUT SINCE PASSAGE OF ADOPTION LAW

MARGUERITE BENGIS

IN 1943 Connecticut enacted an adoption law designed to protect the interests of the child and the rights of the parents and the adopting parents. The high points of the law are the requirement that the probate courts request the Commissioner of Welfare or a child-placing agency licensed by him to investigate each adoption application for children under twenty-one years of age. The report of this investigation, containing information as to suitability of the adopting parents as determined by their "physical, mental, social, and financial condition"; the physical and mental status of the child; and as much similar information about the natural parents as it is possible to obtain, is to be submitted to the court within thirty days. Also included shall be the religious affiliation, if known, of the child and of the natural and the adopting parents. After receipt of this report, a hearing is held at which time the judge may enter an interlocutory decree approving the adoption "until the matter is finally determined," in not less than twelve months nor more than thirteen months thereafter. The court may, however, approve the adoption at the first hearing "if it is satisfied that such adoption is for the best interest of the child." The purpose of the investigation, therefore, is to present the facts on which the court may base its action in determining whether to consummate the adoption.

The effectiveness of the law therefore depends to a large extent on the acceptance, understanding, and use of the

study by the courts and on the use and the value of the waiting period. Of equal importance is the type of study made by the agency. The two years since the passage of the law have been a period of study and experimentation in an attempt to determine weaknesses and to determine the need for understanding and interpretation of both the law and sound adoption practices.

Our greatest concern and interest in relation to this law lie in the area of independent adoption placements since this is the type of placement in which the greatest dangers lie.

Since the first year's statistical reports were incomplete, we are submitting detailed statistical figures for the second year—October 1, 1944, to October 1, 1945.

The foregoing statistics give some indication of the total problem of independent adoptions; the writer will discuss them primarily through the medium of personal experience in the largest district of the Connecticut Department of Public Welfare, Division of Child Welfare, feeling that the experience in this district is comparable to that in other districts in the state.

In considering the large number of independent adoptions that were completed, it should be pointed out that almost two-thirds of these were stepparent adoptions. There have been beliefs expressed by agencies and courts that investigations relative to stepparent adoptions are futile since the child will remain in that home whether adoption is con-

summated or not. However, as the courts recognize the value and use of the studies in all adoptions, even in these stepparent situations, certain courts have either denied the adoption application or entered an interlocutory decree. This action has been taken in instances where the stepparent had a poor reputation and the court felt that the child's future obligation to that parent should be considered, where the marriage was of such short duration that a longer period should be required to determine its stability, or where there was a question of the child's background and all the facts needed understanding by the adopted parent before the final decree was approved. This last occurred in one case where the stepfather was overseas. An interlocutory decree was also entered in two cases where the required physical examination revealed a questionable health condition of the adopting stepparent. The foregoing instances were those known to the writer, not obtained from the agency reporting.

In analyzing the ages of children for whom petitions were filed, it is safe to assume that the sixty-three children under six months of age and a good percentage of those under two years were placed by the mother directly or through an intermediary in an unrelated home, since few stepparent adoptions occur where the child is less than two years of age. This brings up the question of why mothers seek placement through sources other than an agency.

The objections of the mothers to using agency services appear to be for the most part caused by the need for immediate placement, their financial need, their desire for secrecy, and their desire to avoid the time element involved in agency placements for testing and studying before the child is placed in an adop-

tive home. Many infants have been placed directly from the hospitals in spite of every effort on the part of the hospital social worker to point out to the mother the values in placement through a social agency.

TABLE 1
ADOPTION PLACEMENTS OF 673 CHILDREN IN
CONNECTICUT, OCTOBER, 1944—
OCTOBER, 1945

| Dispositions | Agency Placements | Independent Placements |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Approved..... | 133 | 369 |
| Denied..... | | 3 |
| Withdrawn..... | | 28 |
| Pending..... | | 62 |
| Not reported..... | | 78 |
| Total..... | 133 | 540 |
| Relationship of Petitioner to Child | | |
| Stepparent..... | 3 | 321 |
| Other relative..... | 4 | 78 |
| No relation..... | 126 | 128 |
| Not reported..... | | 13 |
| Total..... | 133 | 540 |
| Age of Children | | |
| Under 6 months..... | 0 | 63 |
| 6 months and under 2 years..... | 42 | 77 |
| 2 years and under 6 years..... | 71 | 147 |
| 6 years and under 14 years..... | 17 | 140 |
| 14 years and under 21 years..... | 3 | 95 |
| Not reported..... | | 18 |
| Total..... | 133 | 540 |

The following illustration may show some of the resulting complications from an independent placement:

Five months after the child's placement directly from the hospital with adoptive parents, a request for an adoption investigation was received from the court. It was learned through hospital records that the mother had been married and was supposedly divorced. She entered

the hospital under an assumed name, according to the doctor; the child's birth was registered under another name; and a third name appeared on the agreement of the adoption. The doctor could give no information as to the mother's address or background, which was particularly important in this case because of the child's physical characteristics. Her uncertain marital status brought out the question as to her right as sole guardian to release the child. The adopting parents had assumed all hospital and medical costs as the mother could not bear this cost herself.

In determining the value of the investigation, even in independent adoptions the number of withdrawals and denials should be considered. Through the study process alone the protective features of the law and the services of the agency possibly prevented at least twenty-eight undesirable adoption plans.

The following illustrations may show the variety of situations where the study process has been of benefit to the adopting parents, to the natural parents, and to the child:

During her pregnancy an unmarried mother planned with her physician to place the child in adoption. She was an intelligent girl of a very respectable and closely united family. To avoid their knowing her condition she took a position in another part of the country and remained there for a month after the child was born. She then returned with the baby, going directly to the doctor's office, where the adopting parents received the child. When interviewed during the process of study, she showed deep feeling for the baby. She was told of the services available to her in local agencies but at that time would not consider using them. The child had been in the adoptive home for six months when the mother called the worker to say she had to have her child back and requested assistance in finding a foster-home where she could board the child temporarily. She was referred to a private agency where she and the adopting parents are being helped with future plans.

An unmarried mother had tried for several months to care for her child herself, boarding her in various homes while she was employed. The foster-mother, to whom she owed several

weeks' board, told of a couple who would clear her debts if she would give them the child for adoption. The mother agreed to this but when interviewed in relation to the adoption showed unwillingness to go through with the plan. She was referred to a private agency and withdrew her consent to the adoption.

The four-year-old son of an unstable mother had been placed by her in eleven boarding homes prior to his placement for adoption. The adopting parents were high-type people in good social standing. The child had been in the home a month when the request for investigation was received. The psychological examination showed the child to be of low-average intelligence and revealed the disastrous emotional effects of frequent placements. In the meantime the required physical examination of the adopting parents revealed that the adopting mother had a serious health condition with a short life expectancy. The application was withdrawn, and permanent plans were made for the child under care of an agency.

Three withdrawals were on the basis of the adopting parents' refusal to participate in the investigation. They felt that, if they were interested in adopting a child, there was no real reason why they should subject themselves to the investigation required by the court. What lay behind these refusals is unknown.

In at least two instances it was learned during the study process that the adopting parents were not married, and adoption plans were not continued.

In two cases involving three children the adopting parents were obviously reluctant to adopt the children but were doing so from a sense of duty. After a personal conference between the judge and the worker, the court advised the adopting parents to withdraw their application. They concurred in this plan.

The main purpose of the interlocutory decree is to provide time to determine that the adoption is for the best interests of the child. During this period the agency making the investigation gives

supervision and helps the adopting family in making arrangements for psychological examinations of the child where this has been impossible prior to the first hearing. A supplementary report is submitted to the court at the end of the year. Although there are still some courts in the small communities where a final decree is entered at the first hearing, the majority of courts enter interlocutory decrees in cases where children are placed with persons not related to them. The exceptions to this practice are instances where the child has been in the home long enough to determine that the adjustment has been satisfactory and other factors are equally satisfactory.

Although the statistics do not show the number of interlocutory decrees entered, certain percentages may be established. In the writer's personal experience in one area, of twenty-three cases of children placed for adoption with persons not related to them, thirteen had interlocutory decrees entered. Immediate adoption was made in nine cases which involved children who had been in the home over a year and who had apparently become satisfactorily adjusted. In only one instance, that of a three-month-old child who had been in the home only two months, was adoption immediately approved by the court. This last illustration is an exception rather than the rule.

Although the value of a waiting period is generally recognized, the question has been raised as to the status of the child during this time. Legal custody is awarded to the adopting parents when the interlocutory decree is entered, but the natural parents retain guardianship until the adoption is completed. The danger in this undetermined status lies in any unforeseen development during this period which would result in the revocation of the interlocutory decree and the

subsequent confusion when the natural parents would have to reassume responsibility for the child for whom they felt they had given up all responsibility.

There is an element of frustration and futility in making an adoption study when the agency is called in after the placement has been made; but, with the increased understanding of the purpose of the investigation, its value is gaining wider recognition, and in an increasing number of instances doctors, hospitals, attorneys, and courts are referring natural parents and prospective adopting parents to the agencies for advice before the placement is made. In such instances a study can be started for licensing the adopting parents' home as is required by law before they take the child, and certain protections can be established.

To present a true and accurate picture at this time is difficult since the adoption law is still in a developing stage. Statistics relating to it have not been sufficiently broken down, nor has it been possible to get a total state-wide picture; however, this report is an attempt to call attention to where improvements can be made.

Agencies should be aware of the need to study and evaluate their policies concerning the services needed, particularly by unmarried mothers. The investigations have shown that during their pregnancy many unmarried mothers have applied to social agencies for assistance in planning to place their children, but, because of their desire for immediate placement and their need of financial assistance, they could not accept the services offered under existing agency policies and programs.

It has also been brought out that adopting parents are willing to take the risks involved in adopting an infant when they have the doctor's assurance as

to his adoptability. This situation is in large part the result of the lack of children available for adoption through agencies, the time element in studying and testing the child which deprives the parents of the experience of bringing up a child from early infancy, and other factors such as age, financial security, or motives which might eliminate them as agency-adoption candidates. Many of the independent adoptions seem successful, but, to determine whether the original study had validity in assuming suc-

cess, a survey of the independent adoptions at a five- or ten-year period would be desirable.

It appears vital to continue to evaluate and analyze independent adoptions, not only en masse but individually, to determine the reasons why such placements are being made. Only through this type of analysis can agencies set up laws, programs, procedures, and policies which will meet the needs of all concerned.

DIVISION OF CHILD WELFARE
CONNECTICUT DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

THE NATURE OF PROBATION

EVERETT E. WILSON

MANY courts have come to recognize that a legal finding, with its consequent imposition of a sentence, does not in itself insure the alteration in a defendant's behavior that is desired by society. There is no magic component in an order of support, for example, to guarantee that the erring father will become a provident one. No child will become regular in school attendance just because a court has found that he has truanted and has ordered him to mend his ways.

Every offender has motivations which are, in a complicated and intimate fashion, peculiar to his own individual personality. Most offenders, in the opinion of many experienced correctional workers, carry somewhere within themselves some spark of social responsibility. It may be feeble and it may be far outshone by asocial feelings, but it represents the potential from which, with skilful help, growth may come. Any attempt to help the offender to change his attitudes or his behavior that is not based on a sensitivity to the subtleties of his personality is as unlikely to succeed as an attempt to repair a fine timepiece with a hammer and a saw.

Because of the determination of our society that justice, under law, shall be equal, our court processes, beyond the determination of guilt or innocence, are relatively indiscriminating. Similarly, the penalties exacted of lawbreakers have not been differentiated with respect to the needs of the individual offender. Much of the turmoil in criminological circles during the past century has been

related to the effort to reconcile our ideal of equal justice with the knowledge that effective treatment must be based on an individualistic approach to each offender. It should, perhaps, not be a cause for wonder that our progress in this direction has been slow. We are still too close to the time when courts did, routinely, take into account the individual circumstances of the offender, basing their judgments on the social and economic status of the individual. Our legal institutions have not yet won complete respect by virtue of their undeviating devotion to the principle of equal justice, and therefore have not earned the right to practice freely a form of individualization that is based on the psychological needs of offenders.

Among the devices that have been evolved in the attempt to implement the concept of individualized treatment have been probation and parole, educational and vocational training programs within correctional and penal institutions, the indeterminate sentence, and the classification clinics. More recently there have been the disposition commissions which, in some jurisdictions, are beginning to relieve the courts of the necessity to prescribe rule-of-thumb treatment and to substitute for this a diagnostic and treatment program prescribed by persons who are trained, not in law, but in the sciences related to human behavior and the art of helping to produce change in human behavior.

Many courts are now making extensive use of probation. To say this, however, is to say little; for, although proba-

tion has been widely adopted as a treatment device during the hundred years since it was first proposed in Boston by John Augustus, there has been little definition of precisely what is meant by the term. Textbook definitions are of little help. They describe probation as "supervision of the offender before incarceration" and parole as "supervision after a period of imprisonment." In practice, however, many probation offices are engaged, in reality, in parole work. This is true of the federal probation system, for example, where a large part of the work is related to the supervision of released prisoners. In other probation systems probationers can be committed to an institution and then returned to probation upon the setting aside of the commitment by the court. The implication here is not that these practices are wrong, but only that the academic definitions do not always fit the facts.

From one point of view, probation is essentially a legal concept, not unlike a suspended sentence, in which the threat of a withheld penalty is regarded as the essential element. It is a *period of time* in which the offender is given "another chance" to live within the rules of society. It is a form of leniency—a punishment lighter than imprisonment.

There is, however, a different concept which has been developed by thoughtful workers in the field, many of whom have received stimulation from the developing field of social case work. This view is also held by a few judges who have been interested in looking beyond the confining and unrewarding limits of the legal concept. To them the essence of probation is an *interpersonal process*, with its roots in law and the courts, but depending for its significant development upon the nature and quality of the relationship between the human beings directly involved—the

probationer and the person assigned by the court to work with him, the probation officer. From this point of view, probation requires that the offender be given a period of time during which he has an opportunity to demonstrate to the court that he is capable of disciplining himself and governing his behavior so that it comes within the acceptable limits imposed by society through its courts. It is the responsibility of the probation officer, through the application of his knowledge and skill in human relationships, to help the probationer come to such terms with his probation as he can bear.

It is not to be expected that full compliance with the orders of the court or with the rules of probation will begin as soon as the offender is placed on probation. This happens occasionally. But, more frequently, the conflicts that were responsible for the coming of the case to the attention of the court in the first place continue in operation and prevent the probationer from immediately accepting the judgment and order of the court as a solution. It is to help resolve these conflicts that probation officers are employed.

Just how one human being goes about the task of helping another is a perplexing problem. The diversity of personalities found in any group of probationers seems almost to defy all efforts to isolate techniques or methods that will be consistently effective. Added to this difficulty is the fact that there is little agreement among probation officers as to any basic theory of criminality or its treatment. Indeed, one is compelled to wonder at times whether there are many practitioners in the probation field who have any more real convictions about the effectiveness and dignity of what they are doing than have those members of the lay community who pass probation

laws and fail to implement them by providing adequately for personnel. There is, in short, a sad dependence upon probation as a magic formula, and no great apparent effort is made to insure its successful use. This is similarly true of parole, and has long been true of so-called correctional institutions.

That this lack of a consistently accepted theoretical base is found in the correctional field should not be surprising. It is characteristic of every other field in which interpersonal relationships are involved. There is evidence of it, in greater or less degree, in psychiatry, psychology, and social work; in education, medicine, and law. The distressing thing about the situation in the correctional field is that so little is attempted in the way of setting down even the fragments of theory and endeavoring then to synthesize a more adequate framework for practice.

There are, as a matter of fact, several systems of probation theory and practice which can be delineated with some degree of clarity. They are not well defined, to be sure, and it is not to be supposed that any individual practitioner must be considered as an exclusive follower of any one school. Their basic assumptions and their practical results ought to be the subject of far more intensive research and discussion.

We must acknowledge, first of all, that there is a tremendously large "do-nothing" school of probation. It is, perhaps, the largest part of probation as it is practiced today, and is characterized by the once-a-month rubber stamping of a probation card by a more-or-less political clerk. It must not be thought that this is the wholly bad creation of wholly bad men. The bargain-counter attitude that sets up probation systems with case loads of two or three or four hundred

cases is largely to blame, as is also the sheer limitation imposed by our lack of complete knowledge about human behavior. But the person who is willing to work in these systems without exerting effort to change them must assume his share of responsibility.

A second system of probation might be designated the "investigational school," a relatively recent development. This is surely a perversion of probation, no matter how valid it is in its own right as a method of supplying the court with information upon which to base a more intelligent disposition of its cases. In theory, the investigational process provides an introduction to probation. In practice, it has a tendency to become an end in itself, and it all too often takes the place of probation as a treatment process. The situation is not unlike that existing in some schools of psychiatry, where diagnosis is the goal and therapy is left unattempted. This approach is in keeping with the scientific method, which demands knowledge of the facts as a basis for action. But knowledge for its own sake and without a purpose is sterile, and there are times when action must be taken on the basis of the best knowledge that is conveniently available and not on absolute truth.

A third distinguishable school might be labeled, in contrast with the do-nothing school, the "do-things-for" school. Here, the probation officer's responsibility is seen to be the doing of things for his probationers. He is impelled to get a job for his probationers, to secure a home, to arrange for relief and medical services when needed, and to get friends and relatives to help the probationers, both tangibly and spiritually.

The problem of employment is almost always a matter of great concern to the practitioner of this school—so much so,

in fact, that one is compelled to wonder just what meaning it has for the probation officer himself. It is true that a man may need help in getting a job when he is to be released from prison or when he is on probation or parole. Our society being what it is, he may continue to need this help for a long time. It may be that he will never be able to develop his own strengths to the point where he can carry this entirely normal problem himself. It is much more to the point, though, to help him develop his own strengths than it is to secure the job for him in answer to his immediate need. The same thing is true of the other areas in which it is common for probation officers to "do" things for their probationers. The fact of the matter is that, no matter how well-intentioned and zealous a probation officer may be, he cannot hope to smooth out all the rough spots that his probationer will encounter during his lifetime.

The reluctance of employers to hire men with criminal records has long been a problem for the correctional worker. Although we had just seen, during the war, a period when much of this reluctance had been broken down because of the scarcity of labor; and although Congress was currently engaged in prolonged debate on the subject, it is a matter of great interest that at the last Congress of Correction, held in New York, there was not one session devoted to discussion of the various plans for full employment that had been proposed to the country. If the causal relationship between unemployment and crime is as direct as the activities of many probation officers would imply, this would seem to have been a most serious omission.

It seems to me to be a matter of far greater significance, though, that seldom is a question raised as to precisely what meaning employment or joblessness may

have for a particular probationer. Seldom do we ask whether there is a causal relationship between unemployment and delinquency for a *particular* offender. Seldom do we seem to realize that many employed persons commit crimes and that many unemployed persons do not. Seldom, finally, do we face the fact that a man can be led to employment but that he cannot be made to work.

Similar to the approach of the probation officer who does things for his probationer is that of the officer who resorts to exhortation, admonition, and cajolery, or to warnings and threats. He, too, is likely to have the best of intentions, but one seldom feels that he gives much thought to the effects of his efforts. It seems unlikely that the probationer, who has undoubtedly been the subject of such attentions from parents, teachers, employers, friends, or relatives, is going to be any more responsive to this same approach on the part of the probation officer.

That growth for any individual is inevitably an expression of his own effort and that it cannot be imposed by another from outside has become almost axiomatic among social workers. That is to say, there are probably few social workers who would question the validity of this principle, although one suspects that the disparity between practice and precept would be something else again. Based on this principle, however, there have developed in recent years at least two fairly distinct conceptions of case work in probation. One of these regards delinquent behavior as merely a symptom of deeper emotional disturbances and holds that treatment must be directed toward finding the causes and effecting a cure of these difficulties. The other, while conceding that the behavior may be symptomatic, maintains that we

do not presently possess sufficient resources of knowledge or skill to treat the deeper disturbances with a reasonable assurance of success but, on the other hand, contends that help can be given the delinquent in the direction of understanding his current difficulty and in doing something constructive about it.

Adherents to the first of these two conceptions tend to draw attention away from the fact of the specific offense and the fact that they are representatives of a legal agency. It is their belief that it is of the greatest importance that the individual delinquent achieve some sort of insight into the reasons why he has become the sort of person he is; that he understand something of the forces which have been playing upon him during the course of his development; and that by this understanding he be able to take, with help, some of the steps which may make it possible for him to lead a more acceptable and satisfying life. Concern about the specific offense—the symptom, that is—would be, they feel, unrewarding, since any improvement there would still leave the individual with his basic problem unaffected. This sort of exploration of a probationer's background and personality structure is obviously a long-term process, and one that is time-consuming in the extreme. Fitting this approach into a field where, even in the few good agencies, case loads are extremely high is a difficult problem. One solution has been to select a few cases from each case load for so-called intensive treatment. Justification for this is the perfectly reasonable assumption that all probationers do not require the same amount or type of service.

There are some probationers, including both those who are readily responsive to authority and those whose normal inclination to behave responsibly has been

but accidentally or superficially interfered with, for whom just the court procedure and the *fact* of being on probation will be sufficient to produce the needed change. There are a few whose resistance to assuming normal responsibilities is so deep that it becomes apparent that probation is not for them. But the great majority of probationers fall between these two groups. They are the individuals who are torn by conflicting feelings of acceptance of their responsibilities and resistance to discharging those responsibilities. The number of those who go on from week to week and month to month with first one feeling and then the other gaining the ascendancy is large, and they stand in need of help in reconciling these opposed tendencies. Their number is far greater than the few who, it is reasonable to hope, can be helped on probation by the exhaustive exploration of remote causes. The rejoinder to this is the question as to what is accomplished if a great number of cases is treated in such a way that, at best, only the symptoms are affected.

It seems to me that there is much room for debate on this point. There are, for example, innumerable factors involved in the relatively simple act of driving an automobile. Some of them are highly involved emotional complexes. Most of us have had the experience, at one time or another, of expressing our feelings in our driving (sometimes with unfortunate results). But no one would suggest that just because the total personality is always more or less involved in the driving of a car it is useless to enforce the superficial ordinances with respect to parking, speeding, or the observance of traffic regulations. It is our hope, as a matter of fact, that consistent, intelligent, and skilful enforcement of these ordinances will be a factor in improving

the level of driving. Most people who drive do decide, sooner or later, that it is better to accept the limitations of the traffic regulations than the annoyances of a traffic court. There is a substantial body of opinion that those who cannot make this decision after a reasonable number of opportunities—the “habitual offenders,” that is—should be denied the right to drive. This deprivation does not seem unwise just because it leaves the individual, still with his problem-beset personality, possibly more dangerous because he has been denied one method of expression.

With those who have adopted the alternative approach, the problem is centered, not on the fact that the probationer has met with difficulties in his relationships with the individuals and institutions which make up society, but on the fact that these difficulties have brought him to the official attention of an agency of society which has responsibility for doing something about them. In the course of discharging this responsibility it may be necessary for the court to take action which will have the greatest significance for the probationer. It seems to me essential that the individual probationer be intimately involved in this process. He ought to be making his decisions and governing his behavior on the basis of the most complete factual knowledge and the keenest awareness of his own desires that it is possible for him to achieve. It is the responsibility of the probation officer to help him attain this knowledge and insight.

There is a difference between being on probation legally and being on probation psychologically. Legally, an individual is placed on probation by a court. Psychologically, he must get himself on probation. It is only after he has done this that we can have much hope for con-

structive change, and it is in this area that the skilled probation officer may be able to help. It is not necessary that the probationer admit his complicity in the delinquent act. But, before we can hold much hope for change, he must face the fact that he has become involved with a part of society's legal machinery. It does not matter whether he feels that he has rightfully fallen into the toils of the law or whether he feels he is a victim of injustice. What is important is his recognition of the reality, and not the justice, of his involvement.

What he does in the situation is his own responsibility, and in this area we have no moral right and little practical influence. The history of mankind is filled, on the one hand, with the stories of those who have destroyed themselves in all-consuming struggle against what seemed to them injustice and, on the other hand, with the stories of those who have meekly borne injustice in order to achieve what seemed to them to be more important goals. The making of the final measurement as to the utility or futility of any course, it seems to me, is the exclusive prerogative of the individual.

Both the probationer and the probation officer, then, must arrive at an acceptance, not of the rightness of the court's decision, but of its right to make a decision. Both must recognize that the responsibility for what is to be done in the face of this decision must rest, ultimately, with the probationer.

It is often hard to realize that the probationer does have a real choice to make, for he is truly on the horns of a dilemma. Indeed, one of the problems that has most persistently bothered social workers in the probation field is the apparent conflict between the assumption of case work under private auspices, viz., that the client must come

seeking help voluntarily, and the fact that in case work in the court setting the client finds himself forced into the case-work situation. This conflict is more apparent than real. Few people go to any social agency without some outer compulsion. Children almost never do. But this has not prevented case work from becoming one of the essential parts of the field of child welfare. On the other hand, there is a greater degree of permissiveness in the probation relationship than one might expect. The choice between yielding to the requirements of the court or going to jail may seem to be no choice at all. But is it any less real than that faced by a sick person who must make the choice between his illness and a dangerous operation?

In helping the probationer to make his choice, the probation officer cannot rely on platitude and prejudice and his preconception of what the probationer ought to decide. He must patiently make clear to the probationer the consequences of various possible courses of action. He must recognize that language can be as readily used to conceal meaning as to reveal it and he has the responsibility to withhold action until he is sure that the probationer has truly arrived at a decision. He must be willing to help the probationer express a feeling that is different from what his own would be in the same situation and he must be prepared to base his action, finally, on the facts of the case and not on what he thinks the

response of the probationer ought to be. He must represent a difference which rests on the authority of the court but which can, at the same time, respect the necessity of the probationer to be different from him and from the court. Probation ought to provide the probationer with an opportunity and a stimulation to re-evaluate his behavior in terms of his own conflicting needs for dependence and independence, to strike a new balance between his competing needs to behave responsibly and to behave irresponsibly, to rechart his course on the basis of a new awareness of his social and asocial feelings and the consequences of following them with action.

The participation on the part of the probation officer must at all times be controlled for the benefit of the probationer, at the same time that it does not do violence to the officer's own feelings and convictions. Every projection on the part of the probation officer, whether it be initial or responsive, ought to be conditioned upon the basic and the immediate feelings and needs of both the probation officer and the probationer and upon the needs of society as expressed by the law and the court. Achievement of this split-second analysis and reaction would be an ideal state. It can be approached if we are prepared to examine ourselves with honesty, so that our needs for defense can be recognized and dealt with.

JUVENILE COURT
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE POSTWAR "STATELESS"

ONE of the problems of the first World War that has reappeared is concerned with the large group of stateless people. Technically a stateless person is one who has been denationalized. His country of origin has deprived him of his nationality and has withdrawn any responsibility for protection or assistance.

The American Jewish Committee in its recommendations¹ to the "counsellors of peace" has discussed "statelessness" in some detail. Attention is called to the fact that the Institut de Droit International considers that "the term stateless defines an individual whom no country recognizes as possessing its nationality." The Committee then proceeds with the following statement:

Statelessness may be caused by failure to acquire nationality at birth or at majority, or by being deprived of it. The causes of statelessness may be divided into two broad categories; circumstances attending birth or marriage, and political considerations. In general, statelessness through birth or marriage is a phenomenon affecting individuals as such, no matter how large their number, and statelessness consequent upon a state's political program, whether racial, ethnic or class, is a phenomenon affecting groups. Political statelessness as an individual phenomenon is confined almost exclusively to cases in which it is imposed as a penalty for an individual act previously defined in the legislation of a state.

It is mass statelessness that is a characteristically modern evil, so that today those suffering from it constitute the great bulk of all the stateless. Politically motivated statelessness was known before the last World War, as in Schleswig-Holstein after 1865, but became a problem on a large scale only after 1914. In England, France and Italy citizens of former enemy na-

tionality were denaturalized to counter the German policy of considering former nationals to be German still, and in this country many naturalizations were revoked for conduct or attitudes held to be inconsistent with allegiance to the United States. Many were left stateless in the aftermath of the last war. Although the minorities treaties had as a basic aim the safeguarding of citizenship for minority populations, large-scale statelessness was not prevented in the succession states of the Austro-Hungarian empire.² Citizenship was to be determined by permanent residence or birth within the new borders. Austria, Poland, Rumania, Lithuania and Bulgaria adopted legislation contrary to the letter or the spirit of the treaties. . . . Especially troublesome was the criterion of "place of habitual residence." Thousands of former Austrian, Hungarian, Russian and German nationals were denied citizenship in the new succession states because of arbitrary interpretations of the principle and demands for proof impossible to satisfy. The ravages of the war and the great population shifts to which it gave rise had led to the loss and destruction of very many documents of identity and nationality, so that it was easy for the new governments to frame standards of proof which on the surface seemed reasonable but actually were prohibitive. . . . Those most subject to statelessness arising out of a circumvention of the various treaties were members of ethnic and religious minorities.³

The states of Eastern and Central Europe thus *withheld* citizenship from many who should have received it. To those made stateless in this

² No provisions concerning nationality were made for the Baltic States and Turkey.

³ "The Government of Rumania was the most enterprising in preventing large blocs, especially of Jews, from achieving citizenship, thus continuing to follow a pattern of violating similar treaty obligations going back to 1878 and the Treaty of Berlin. In 1928 observers reported that 20,000 Jewish families, 95 percent of whose members had been born on Rumanian soil, remained stateless. Poland's flouting of the treaty provisions was on a smaller scale and less flagrant."

¹ *To the Counsellors of Peace: Recommendations of the American Jewish Committee* (New York, March, 1945). Pp. 110.

fashion were added hundreds of thousands whose citizenship has been *revoked*, in the years immediately following the last war by Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey, before the present war by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and since 1938 by nearly every country dominated by Germany.

After the first World War the League of Nations assumed responsibility for refugees,⁴ large numbers of whom were stateless; and Dr. Fridtjof Nansen became the League's High Commissioner for Refugees and was the distinguished advocate of their cause until his death in 1930. Included in this group⁵ were the Russians who lost their nationality by Soviet decree after they had taken refuge in France and other countries. There were also many thousands of Armenians and thousands of Assyrians denationalized. As late as 1938 there were said to be some sixty thousand of this group under League protection.

America has a special interest in this question because it affects immigration. There is a special problem for stateless people who wish to emigrate, since they have no country to issue passports or travel documents. There are today some of these stateless people who cannot immigrate to the United States because they cannot obtain passports. After the last war Dr. Nansen arranged for special League of Nations passports, which were usually referred to as "Nansen Passports."

An account of the present situation of the stateless recently appeared in the *National News-Letter*, which is issued in London. Commander Stephen King-Hall wrote an interesting statement under the heading "A State for the Stateless," from which the following paragraphs are quoted:

⁴ See chapter on "Refugees," by Dr. James G. McDonald, in *Pioneers in World Order*, ed. Harriet Eager Davis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

⁵ See a recent carefully prepared article by Dr. Jane Perry Clark Carey, of the Barnard Faculty, on "Some Aspects of Statelessness since World War I," which appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, XL (February, 1946), 113-23.

We may all hope that a day will come when man's material needs will not depend upon the international standing of the State of which he happens to be a citizen. But this day is far off. Though we have fought two wars for what in principle is freedom from the shackles of economic and political nationalism, one must nevertheless admit that never was it more necessary for a man to feel that he has the support and shelter of a strong national Government than at present.

In an article in the *Central European Observer*, Mr. Harry Gregson discusses the problem of the "Stateless." That it is a very urgent problem can be seen from the following facts: The "Stateless" are those who cannot or are unwilling to return to their country of origin. After the last war Europe had its stateless people, chiefly White Russian emigrants. Now many such people have become stateless again, for the countries which sheltered them have changed their frontiers or regimes.

Housed in camps which stretch from Southern Italy to the North Sea, in tents and shacks, old monasteries, Nissen huts, are hundreds of thousands of *de facto* if not *de jure* stateless people. Many others wander along the road, work casually as peasants, or eke out a squalid livelihood in the poorer quarters of some European city, only too glad to escape official attention. Not even U.N., whose problem it is, knows their exact numbers. From time to time huge numbers are collected together and given a chance to return to their country of origin. If the camp rations are good, many decide overnight to stay where they are.

Thousands of people, for example, have been ejected from the disputed Venezia Giulia area because they were not born there and their votes might thus affect an impartial plebiscite. Italy will not give them nationality, nor will Yugoslavia. What will happen to them? . . .

Another class are the dual nationality people. A man, for example, born of Austrian parents in Italy. Now the Italians object to him as of German descent. The Austrians question his Austrian parents and citizenship. An internationally famous cancer specialist has been in a D.P. Camp for several months because he is in this category.

What is the answer? Mr. Gregson suggests that all these unfortunate people should be able to find one of the existing states, as far from Europe as possible, which will give them a home. We see little prospect of this being practical

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politics. For however healthy, however valuable would be the injection of, say, five thousand stateless into a national community, *National News-Letter* knows of no nation which would take so altruistic a step at this time.

The King-Hall article discusses two alternative plans of solution, but the first seems very impractical. This is "to create a new State in some thinly populated area of the world, to plant the stateless there and let them 'get on with it.'" But could they get on? Another question is where this place is to be? The answer in the *News-Letter* is to ask the reader to take a map of the world and let his finger light, for example, on the Sahara?—on Central Asia?—on Central Australia? This is said to be an "attractive idea and should, in fact, be feasible," but objections are acknowledged to be very formidable.

If you chose an area upon which all existing nations agreed it would almost certainly be so bleak and undesirable that enormous schemes of irrigation, drainage, etc., would be needed to make it habitable. Once that had been done—and here we return, again, to the rampant nationalism of 1946—the nations would no longer be so eager to turn it over to the stateless.

A second solution which is favored by *National News-Letter* is not unlike the League of Nations passport system. Thus it is proposed that an extranational citizenship should be created, sponsored by the United Nations. In this way the stateless would become the first world citizens.

Their geographical location would then be of no importance, for their citizenship (together with their passports, their identity cards and all the paraphernalia of citizenship) would be international. Once this decision had been taken by U.N. all member nations of U.N. would be bound to treat the stateless on exact parity with their own national citizens. The first step towards world government would have been taken. These men and women would be free in the fullest sense of the word, bound to no nation, tied to no frontier, subservient to no national cause. Their frontiers would be the horizon.

All sorts of objections may be raised—that

they would be a nuisance, that they might carry disease from one country to another, that it would be difficult to know how to treat them, etc., but the extent to which these objections are valid is a reflection, not upon the idea, but upon the effectiveness of U.N. All the objections, and *National News-Letter* asserts this uncompromisingly, could be overcome. Here is a test for the "United Nations." Here is a chance to solve a squalid problem in a bold, imaginative way.

The American Jewish Committee presented some very practical suggestions regarding action which should be taken today in behalf of those who are now stateless. Their recommendations are summarized briefly in the following paragraphs:

1. Great hazards are involved in the existence of statelessness and in the practice of denationalization. Statelessness is a condition injurious to the existence of the national state, to the human community and to the dignity of the human personality. Statelessness should not be imposed as a punishment on any person, for any reason.

2. Pending the recognition and implementation of this principle, a Convention on Statelessness should be adopted by the United Nations, as part of their aim, expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, to "achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems."

3. A Commission on Statelessness should be set up under the Economic and Social Council to implement this Convention. The Commission should be recognized as the international authority protecting the rights and concerned with the welfare of all the stateless, with power to determine the degree of compliance with obligations assumed under the Convention by any state, and to make appropriate recommendations to the Economic and Social Council for submission to the General Assembly.

4. The Commission should issue to the stateless suitable documents of identity and passports, which should be recognized as valid by all nations.

5. The stateless person should have the same rights as those generally enjoyed by aliens under the protection of a state. Option to resume or reject their old nationality should be given to those who now are stateless.

6. The Commission should be empowered by

the Convention to determine the fairness of standards of proof of nationality and of identity required by the various states.

STATISTICS OF ADOPTIONS

A REPORT on statistics relating to adoptions, that was recently issued by the United States Children's Bureau,¹ is important and interesting. These statistics, which were obtained late in 1945 from twenty-two different states,² throw light on many questions relating to adoption. The number of children adopted each year in this country is not known, because a large number of states do not provide for the central collection of such statistics. "In about half the States the department of welfare can obtain statistics on adoption proceedings because it (or its authorized agencies) has the legal responsibility to investigate petitions for adoption or because it has established working relationships with the courts empowered to act on such petitions."

The adoption data from the twenty-two states showed that adoption petitions had been filed in 1944 for more than sixteen thousand children, and the Children's Bureau estimated that petitions probably were filed in that year in all the states for approximately fifty thousand children.

In proportion to the population under twenty-one years of age in the state, the number of children for whom petitions were filed in Oregon was more than nine times that in North Carolina, the states reporting the highest and lowest rates, respectively.³

¹ "Children Acquire New Parents. Recent Increases in Adoptions Emphasize Need for Adequate Adoption Procedures," by Joseph L. Zarefsky, *The Child*, X (March, 1946), 142.

² The states from which actual or estimated data were received were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia. These states represent all sections of the country and include approximately three-eighths of the estimated population under twenty-one in 1943.

³ These state-to-state variations are discussed in the complete report of this study, which is being prepared for later publication by the Bureau.

The southeastern states, with the exception of Florida, reported the lowest number of children for whom petitions had been filed in relation to their child population.

In comparison with some earlier⁴ statistics on adoption issued by the Bureau there were more than three times as many adoption petitions filed in 1944 as in 1934 in the six states for which comparable data were then available—an increase said to be due to the increasing number of adoptions by stepparents.⁵ But adoptions by other relatives and by nonrelated persons are also said to have "increased markedly" in recent years.

In the six states for which comparable data are available the proportion of children being adopted by stepparents increased from 17 per cent in 1934 to 41 per cent in 1944. The great increase in stepparent adoptions undoubtedly represents in part war-stimulated legalization of family relationships that in many instances had existed in fact for years.

With regard to safeguards needed in adoption procedures it is pointed out that "the child and his adoptive parents, as well as his natural parents, should have the maximum protection possible in the process of legalizing a new family relationship." The need for such protection is indicated by an analysis of the detailed information available for fifteen of the twenty-two states. These states reported more than nine thousand of the children for whom petitions had been filed in 1944. Many independent adoptions are by nonrelated persons. The following paragraphs from the report are important:

Slightly more than a quarter of the children for whom petitions were filed in 1944 had been placed in the adoptive home by a placement agency; another quarter had been placed without the aid of an agency by parents, friends, relatives, physicians, lawyers, or others; the re-

⁴ See *Problems and Procedures in Adoption*, by Mary Ruth Colby (Children's Bureau Publication No. 262; Washington, D.C., 1941).

⁵ The report indicates that a small number of children adopted by their natural parents is probably included in this group.

mainder were being adopted without the aid of an agency by relatives or by persons with whom the child had been living. If only children being adopted by nonrelated persons are considered, the importance of independent placements is indicated by the fact that more than half of these children had been placed without the aid of a recognized child-welfare agency.

Placement of a child for adoption by a competent child-welfare agency is one assurance that adequate safeguards are being observed for the child, for his natural parents, and for the adoptive parents. This basic assurance was lacking for more than half the children (and their parents) for whom adoption proceedings were instituted by nonrelated persons in 1944 in these 15 States. Observance of other desirable adoption procedures cannot completely compensate for this shortcoming. Even in states requiring the investigation of adoption petitions by the department of welfare or its authorized agencies before the court takes action on the petition, it is frequently difficult to make negative recommendations when a child placed independently has been living with the adopting parents for a long time and his status in the family has been accepted by him, by the adopting parents, and by the community.

Another indication of the need for adequate safeguards in adoption placements and procedures is the fact that most of the children are very young, as shown by the following age distribution of the children (8,764) for whom this information was available in the 15 States previously mentioned:

| Age at filing of petition | Per- cent |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Total..... | 100 |
| Under 6 years..... | 62 |
| Under 6 months..... | 17 |
| 6 months, under 2 years..... | 21 |
| 2 years, under 6 years..... | 24 |
| 6 years, under 14 years..... | 26 |
| 14 years, under 21 years..... | 12 |

Inasmuch as almost half of these children were being adopted by stepparents or other relatives (and these children generally are older than others being adopted), the proportion of young children being adopted by nonrelated persons was even greater than is indicated by these figures. It is desirable, of course, that an adopted child begin his life in his new family at an early age so that he may have the benefits of a stable and affectionate family relationship in his formative years, but it is difficult to

evaluate a child's developmental potentialities when he is under six months of age. In order to make a satisfactory placement fully meeting the child's needs and to allow his natural parents sufficient time and assistance in reaching their decision free from pressure, at least 4 to 6 months' time is needed. It is questionable, therefore, whether all the 1,485 children who were under 6 months of age when petitions were filed in their behalf (indicating that they had been placed at even an earlier age) in these 15 States had the protection afforded by insistence on recognized and desirable procedures in adoption. Moreover, the natural parents of these children, who were undertaking to sever the parent-child relationship, and the adopting parents, who were contemplating the establishment of such a relationship, were probably deprived of the protection they also should have had.

Adoption is popularly identified with illegitimacy. However, 42 percent of the children for whom petitions were filed in the 15 States in 1944 were born in wedlock; in 4 States they outnumbered the children who were born out of wedlock. More than half (55 percent) of the children born in wedlock came from homes that had been broken by divorce, desertion, or separation; 32 percent had lost one or both of their parents by death. Undoubtedly a large number of these children were being adopted by a stepparent who, by marrying the surviving parent or the parent having custody of the child had already assumed parental responsibilities for the children whom they were petitioning to adopt. However, a sizable number of these children were being adopted by nonrelated persons.

The natural parents of nearly 300 children who were being adopted were married and living together at the time the petition was filed. The circumstances in each of these situations merit further study in the individual States to determine the factors underlying the termination of these parent-child relationships. An earlier study⁶ of adoptions [which presented some comparable statistics furnished by six states in 1934] indicated that in some situations limited financial resources, together with a large number of children, had influenced some parents to consider adoption as a means of providing care for one or more children. That this unfortunate situation still persists in some localities is indicated by the comment from one State with

⁶ Colby, *op. cit.*

a large Spanish-speaking population that adoption by other relatives (especially grandparents) is one method of care for children in large families. Other situations in which children born in wedlock were being adopted (in 1934) included those in which one or both parents were in ill health or in which the parents had been married shortly before or after the birth of the child and were overcome by social disapproval of this situation. These certainly represent situations calling for the greatest use of professional child-welfare skills, situations which, with skilled help, might have been resolved otherwise.

PUBLIC HOMES FOR THE AGED IN ILLINOIS

ILLINOIS took a step forward under the leadership of Raymond Hilliard, director of the state Public Aid Commission, when the last legislature provided that old age pensions and blind assistance grants could be given to persons otherwise qualified when they resided in a county home for the chronically ill, if the home met the standards prescribed by the Commission. The Social Security Act provides that the federal matching grant may not be made if the recipient is an inmate of a public institution. This provision was necessary when the act was passed in order to get rid of the old poorhouses and poor farms. But the experience which the states have had in the last ten years has shown, first, that nursing homes of some kind are needed for a substantial number of beneficiaries of Title I and Title X; second, that such nursing-home care cannot be given with proper regard to safety and adequate standards of care until proper public nursing-homes are provided. This will not be done in many states until the federal act is amended to make the federal grant available for recipients in public homes, as it may now be available, if the state law so provides, for private homes. Illinois, however, without waiting for the federal government to act, decided that the people must have the kind of care that was needed and very wisely provided that the state would meet the en-

tire cost in such cases. This act promises to meet a very urgent need. Some of the counties had relatively new county homes, and state standards could be met by renovating, modernizing, and providing new equipment for the homes. The first of these new county nursing homes was approved by the Commission in December, 1945. Since then nine counties have had their homes approved, and forty-five other counties are in process of reconverting their homes to meet the state commission standards.

EX-PRISONERS AS SOLDIERS

THE chairman of the New York Parole Board, Commissioner Frederick A. Moran, has given us a useful statement regarding some of the achievements in war service of parolees under the jurisdiction of the New York State Division of Parole. Speaking of the findings of a recent study¹ of the performance of paroled men in the armed forces, Commissioner Moran stated that

one of the features that strikes the Parole Board is that so many of these men deliberately chose hazardous services and assignments. They were fliers and bombardiers, tail gunners and paratroopers. One man burned to death holding his ship aloft so his partners could bail out. Many volunteered for especially dangerous missions. Many, of course, just did a day's job faithfully. And there was the fellow who must have learned in prison that orders are orders. He was commended recently because, while a sentinel at an army base under orders not to allow anyone to enter a certain plane, he refused entrance to an officer who turned out to be the senior pilot!

Among the rather spectacular cases listed by Commissioner Moran are the following:

One parolee, a medical-aid man, who was wounded three times, received the Purple Heart with two Oak Leaf Clusters, a Presidential Unit Citation, and a French Unit Citation. He was

¹ The study, made by the Division of Parole, was for the information of the Parole Board, which, in addition to Commissioner Moran, consists of Commissioner Louis F. Costuma and Reginald B. Taylor.

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cited for bravery when, in the heart of Germany, while casualties were suffered all about him during a fierce engagement, he moved about over exposed and vulnerable terrain, aiding the wounded under heavy artillery and mortar fire. He evacuated the wounded to points of safety at the risk of his own life. His commanding officer wrote: "Private ———'s heroic deeds exemplify the finest traditions of the medical department." But the parolee wrote his Parole Officer, "I discovered it takes more courage to do a man's job than to rob some guy at the point of a gun."

Another parolee was cited for meritorious service and received the Bronze Star Medal for "heroic service in action." He and others were detailed to construct a road block. The lead jeep struck a mine, killing all the occupants. Despite the fact that the entire area was heavily mined, the remaining men volunteered to go on foot.¹ Just as they were completing the road block, the enemy laid down a heavy barrage followed by an infantry attack, wounding two of the men. An American company opened up on the enemy, and the parolee and his surviving comrades were caught in cross-fire. "With utter disregard for personal safety," wrote their commanding officer, "they continued to assist the wounded until they reached our lines."

A parolee in the Pacific volunteered to lead a party, including some Filipinos, to bring food and water to lost companies. They were ambushed. Two were killed and three wounded. It required two days for the detail to climb a ridge and deliver the supplies. When they returned, they carried their wounded with them.

Many people will be glad to be reassured by Commissioner Moran's timely study. Too often the paroled man feels that he has no chance to show that he is again like other men. The great mass of prisoners will sometime be returned to society, and we are responsible for helping them to become good citizens of the state and of the nation, as they have made their difficult readjustment. This important study shows that the ex-prisoners may be brave and heroic men willing to give their lives for their country and for their comrades in arms, and their record in the war should not be overlooked.

THE FEDERAL MENTAL HEALTH ACT

A GREAT step forward in mental hygiene was taken when Congress passed the Pepper-Priest Bill¹ creating the new National Institute for Mental Health. The new act provides for an appropriation of \$17,500,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1946. The appropriation is divided into two parts — \$7,500,000 for hospital, laboratory, and other facilities for a National Mental Hygiene Institute; and \$10,000,000 for grants-in-aid. These grants may be made to public and private agencies to provide for psychiatric research, the training of psychiatrists and other personnel needed for treatment of the mentally ill and to establish and maintain the necessary mental health services. They may also be made to states and local governments for establishing and maintaining such services as mental health clinics, child guidance clinics, and psychiatric social service on the basis of plans to be submitted to and approved by the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, who is to administer the act, with the approval of the Federal Security Administrator.

This great act marks the beginning of a long-hoped-for new era in the field of mental health, the results of which can be only vaguely foreseen, but which will certainly benefit millions of people.

A FEDERAL ANTILYNCHING LAW

LYNCHING is our country's national disgrace, and it can and should be stopped by an effective federal antilynching law. The late Senator Edward P. Costigan, who sponsored so much useful federal legislation,

¹ For various statements supporting the provisions of the bill see *Hearings on H.R. 2550*, "A bill to provide for, foster, and aid in coordinating research relating to neuropsychiatric disorders; to provide for more effective methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of such disorders, to establish the national neuropsychiatric institute; and for other purposes," September 18-21, 1945; and see *Hearings on S. 1160*, March 6-8, 1946.

was so vigorous in his support of his earlier antilynching bill that there was at one time good hope of its passage.

We need another national leader in Congress with the ability, courage, and devotion of Edward Costigan to put an end to the kind of shameful tragedy that has so recently been headline news again. For this country to attempt to give world leadership in the name of the Four Freedoms when we do not prevent such cruel and disgraceful crimes against our own citizens is to lay ourselves open to the charge of not believing the principles we advocate. Social and political reform, like charity, should begin at home. A federal antilynching law should be pledged by both parties and given honest and prompt support.

CHILD LABOR IN ALASKA

ANSWERING such questions as "How many children work in Alaska?" "Where do they work?" "What do they do?" "What are their working hours?" the United States Children's Bureau has issued an interesting report (mimeographed) based on a questionnaire study made in the Territorial and Indian schools of Alaska. The following paragraphs from the report show the reasons why the study was undertaken:

When the Fair Labor Standards Act was passed in 1938, it established child-labor standards effective throughout the whole of the United States, including the Territories. The Children's Bureau was made responsible for the enforcement of these child-labor standards, which, in brief, set a general minimum age of 16 years for work in or about establishments producing goods for shipment in interstate commerce and an 18-year minimum age for work in certain hazardous occupations in such establishments, while permitting employment of 14- and 15-year-old children in limited nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations outside school hours and under prescribed conditions.

The first problem of an administrative agency in enforcing a minimum age for employment is to set up reliable machinery for establishing proof of age for employed children. The act provides that employers of young workers will be protected from prosecution for unintentional

violation of the law if they obtain and keep on file certificates, issued under regulations prescribed by the Children's Bureau, that show the minors to be of the age required by the act for the occupation to which they are assigned. On the basis of this provision, the Children's Bureau has coordinated its administration of the Federal law with State and Territorial systems of issuing employment and age certificates for children going to work, and in all the jurisdictions where such systems exist¹ the State or Territorial certificates are accepted as evidence of age under the Federal act.

The Territory of Alaska presented a difficult problem because no certificate system had been set up under Territorial law, and because the difficulties of transportation and communication were decided barriers to the working out of any such system, either Territorial or Federal. Moreover, little was known about the localities where the children were working, their ages, or the industries in which they were employed—information needed in determining whether children are employed in occupations subject to the Federal act and in working out possible plans for issuing certificates. . . .

Until a system of certification could be worked out, the Children's Bureau issued a regulation providing for the acceptance of birth certificates or baptismal certificates, kept on file by the employer, as evidence of age under the act. However, for the protection of the children of Alaska in the future, the Bureau undertook a study to find out more about the work of minors in the Territory. Questionnaires were sent to the schools in the hope of securing information that might serve as a background for developing a system of certification and for working out better methods of proving age. Replies furnished information for three-fourths of the so-called white (really non-native) territorial-school children and for 56 per cent of the Indian-school children. About half the children in Indian schools were Eskimos; a little over one-third were of interior or southern stocks; and the remainder, for the most part, were Aleuts.

¹ "In the four States, Idaho, Texas, South Carolina, and Mississippi, where such systems do not exist, the Children's Bureau, in cooperation with State and local officials, issues Federal age certificates which are accepted as evidence under the act."

The returns to the questionnaire showed that large numbers of children claimed to be employed. Boy workers outnumbered girl workers, but this majority was larger among the non-native, so-called white children in the territorial schools than among the natives in the Indian schools. Conversely, the proportion of working girls among the native children was greater (24 per cent) than among the non-native children (15 per cent).

Sixty-two per cent of all the working children were under fourteen years of age—65 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls. Over one-fourth (27 per cent) of the boys and almost one-fifth (19 per cent) of the girls were only ten or eleven years of age.

The proportion of employed children in the different age groups was about the same for boys of both races but was different for girls. Among the non-native children 40 per cent of the girl workers were under fourteen and 13 per cent were under twelve, while among the natives 62 per cent were under fourteen and 26 per cent were under twelve.

The industries in which children ten through fifteen years of age were employed included, along with those in which children everywhere engage, some that were particularly important in Alaska, such as fishing, mining, and sea-food canning. Nearly one-third of the children were in manufacturing industries, principally sea-food canning and the printing and publishing industries where children serve chiefly as newsboys. Retail trade was next largest and then fishing. Fishing and canning are highly seasonal industries, and there is great demand for labor during the summer months, the period which this study covered. Retail trade also expands during that time to meet the needs of the larger labor and tourist population. Children were also employed in agriculture, counting those employed in dairies as well as those who worked on farms. Thirteen boys, whose employment was probably illegal, reported work in connection with mines.

Well over one-fourth of each age group

worked in stores; among those fourteen and fifteen years of age, work in canneries was equally popular. The proportion of children in publishing and printing, mostly newsboys, dropped sharply after the age of twelve, and the proportion in fishing dropped considerably at the age of fourteen. Newsboys' work was the most common of all occupations engaged in by children between ten and twelve years of age.

More than half of the occupations reported by the children were performed out of doors, as, for example, fishing, longshoring, farming, trapping, delivery service, truck-driving, news-selling and carrying.

About half of the 1,055 young workers were laborers—fishermen, farm laborers, longshoremen, and others—but many more of the native than of the non-native school children and more boys than girls in both races worked at such jobs. Nearly one-third of the native boys were fishermen, and nearly one-fourth were longshoremen; whereas only 17 per cent of the non-native boys were fishermen, and only 3 per cent were longshoremen.

Certain jobs, on the other hand, were rarely held by native children; for example, only 6 native boys out of a total of 115 carried or sold newspapers, and only 3 native boys out of a total of 38 were deliverymen.

About 12 per cent of all the children were factory operatives or laborers. Girls, particularly, worked in the fish canneries and in other food industries—which employed one-third of the native girls.

Among the non-native girls 13 per cent were clerical workers and 10 per cent were salespersons in stores. No native girls held such jobs; but 8 per cent were trappers or hunters, and 28 per cent were longshoremen, doing the same kind of work as boys—carrying cargo back and forth between the boats and the shore.

A large group of girls worked at various service jobs, such as waiting on tables or doing kitchen work in restaurants and boarding-houses, but only 4 per cent of the native girls were thus employed. Many of the boys, native and non-native alike,

worked at service occupations, including pin-setting in bowling alleys.

Even the youngest boys and girls in Alaska were engaged in occupations that are usually thought of as belonging to adults. Of the 120 children who were longshoremen, 79 were under fourteen years of age, and 45 were between ten and twelve years. Among 193 who reported that they were fishermen, 119 were under fourteen years, 41 being under twelve.

All ages were represented in the canneries; 43 of the 90 workers were under fourteen years of age, 10 being under twelve years. Among 32 other factory operatives 10 were between twelve and fourteen, and 7 were less than twelve years of age. Young children even drove trucks, 2 of the 9 working in this occupation being between twelve and fourteen years of age.

In general, the so-called white (non-native) children worked in town, the native worked outside. Less than half the children in the study were employed in towns of more than 800 population. The proportion varied, however, according to the type of school attended. More than two-thirds of the non-native children and less than one-tenth of the native children worked in these towns. This is not surprising, as most Alaskan natives live in the small villages of the Territory.

Nearly one-fourth of the young workers found their jobs in other places than the towns in which they attended school. This meant much travel for some children, especially the native children, 28 per cent of whom lived and worked in different places.

Ninety-eight children traveled 30 miles or more to their jobs; 64 of these traveled 50 miles or over. The large majority of the children (83 per cent) took their jobs after school closed, some going long distances from home to stay at their places of employment during the vacation time. Of those who traveled 30 miles or more, only 7 started their jobs before school closed.

Of the 235 children whose school and work were not in the same place, 186 reported how they got to their places of work.

The principal method of transportation to place of work, when not in the same town as the school, was by boat, as would be expected in Alaska. Native children, especially, traveled in this way, undoubtedly in family groups, to the fishing and canning areas.

Many children had long work-days. According to their own estimates, more than half of the working children covered by the study were in jobs that demanded eight or more hours of their time daily. Native children in the Indian schools worked the longest hours, 70 per cent having eight-hour, or longer, schedules. Practically as many of the native children under fourteen as over fourteen had these hours. Among the non-native children there was less tendency for the younger ones to work as long hours; although 24 per cent of the so-called white, or non-native, children and 42 per cent of the native children were working more than eight hours a day.

Children working at fishing, in sea-food canneries, and in retail trade were more likely to put in long days than were those in other industries. However, hours beyond eight seemed to exist in every kind of work except printing and publishing, where the children were mostly newsboys and finished their jobs in a few hours.

Weekly hours were also long, with comparatively few children working less than eighteen hours a week, except non-native, or so-called white, children under fourteen years of age.

The conclusions drawn from the schedules were that, immediately prior to the war, many young children were employed in Alaska in industries covered by the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act—especially in canning—and that many other children were employed in occupations outside the coverage of that act but usually covered by state legislation, such as retail-store, fishing, and service occupations. The need for further protection under the territorial child-labor law is shown by the numbers of child workers below the minimum wage recommended for good child-labor standards and by the fact that many were

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working hours far in excess of those usually considered healthful for young people.

The study points to the need for some effective means, such as an employment-certificate system, for aiding in the enforcement of the already existing federal law as well as possible new or amended territorial laws. The difference in type of work opportunities open to non-native and to native children and the difference in the location of schools and in the distances necessary to travel in going to their places of employment are factors to be considered in planning for such a certificate system.

THE NATIONAL REFUGEE SERVICE

THAT refugees are now reaching the United States at the rate of about 2,000 a month is the important statement in a report by the National Refugee Service on July 1, 1946. N.R.S. is engaged in its largest and most extensive operations in several years. The arrival of "each ship from Europe brings reunions of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, after long separation," which have been widely reported.

The N.R.S. has been active in preparing for the migration of the newcomers and in providing for their reception, resettlement, and adjustment. It has also "played a leading part in creating a favorable atmosphere for acceptance and integration of the immigrants."

The N.R.S. accepts "the responsibility for meeting the needs of most of these people" because it has the program necessary for this purpose. The N.R.S. used the "corporate affidavit as the basis for issuance of visas for a majority of the Jewish immigrants on the first four ships from Germany. In addition, many whose visas were based on the affidavits of others are already coming to NRS for services unavailable to them elsewhere. At the same time hundreds arriving monthly from countries other than Germany receive various types of NRS assistance ranging from migration services to the family and economic aid."

The report issued of the N.R.S. work for the new immigrants contains the following details which will be of interest to our readers:

A complete and effective program is in operation to serve new arrivals at the piers. Information service is provided for American relatives. Temporary shelter, meals, and other immediate necessities are furnished to all newcomers who require them. Transportation arrangements are made for those proceeding out of New York immediately. . . .

Temporary shelter is provided in a number of moderate priced hotels. A chartered bus service is operated from the pier to these places. In one, there is an NRS hospitality center where light lunch is served and where the newcomers may obtain information, meet relatives who missed them at the dock, or, in the case of those leaving the city the same day, rest until it is time to take the train or bus. The hotel accommodations were obtained, in the face of overcrowded conditions in New York City, with the help of a number of public-spirited hotel proprietors. Of the immigrants on the first four ships from Germany, 555 were given shelter and meals for periods ranging from one night to three weeks. Many hundreds more were served in the hospitality center.

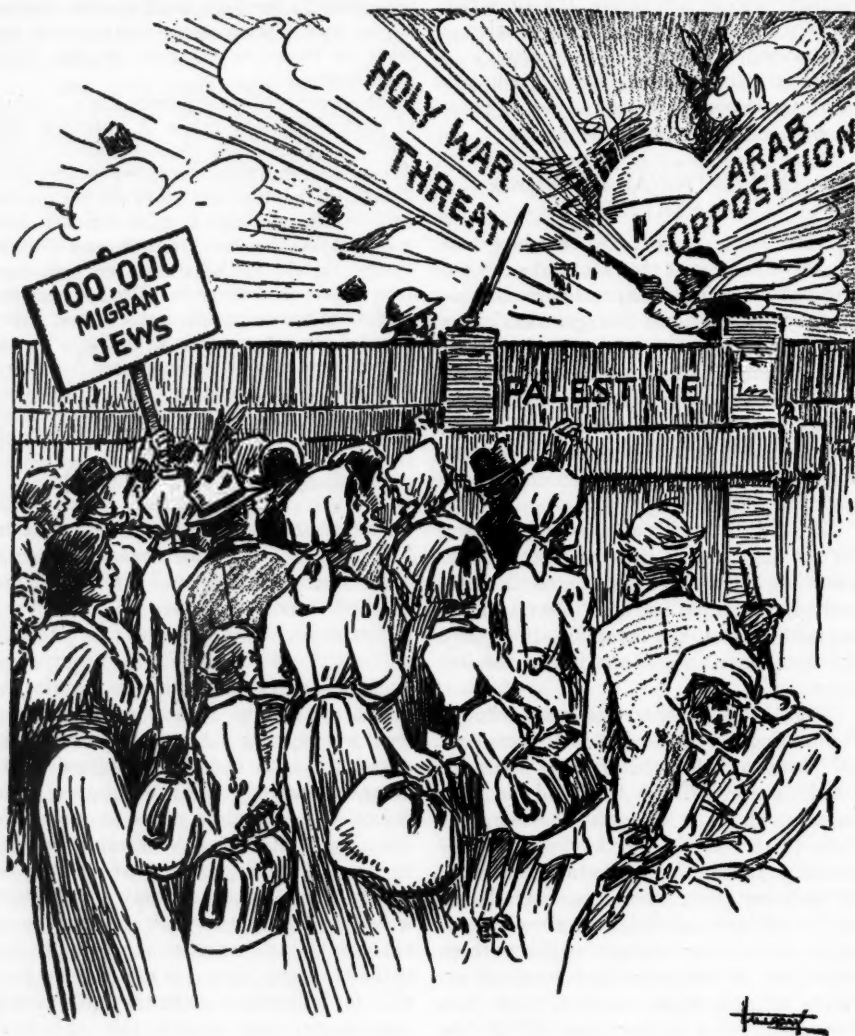
Resettlement in communities outside New York is one of the agency's primary aims. An effort is made to house newcomers in hotels where there are no "holdover" earlier arrivals who may have formed ties in New York City. Within twenty-four hours after disembarkation, a meeting is held at which the advantages of resettlement are explained. A staff of resettlement consultants is at hand for individual interviews immediately after the meeting. The object is to complete plans to move the newcomers out of New York expeditiously, so that they will realize that this city is merely a stopover on the way to the place where they will settle. This procedure is of value to the communities as well as to the national agency. It makes resettlement possible for immigrants while they still have a positive attitude toward this objective. "Recent experience indicates that prompt resettlement of 60 per cent of those without

American relatives can be achieved by this means."

There is said to be an "atmosphere of urgency surrounding all this work, and the complexity of the human problems involved" cannot be easily described. The immigrants need "every conceivable kind of advice and help, ranging from guidance on

the value of American small coins or the use of the dial telephone to the need of shoes for their children to replace wooden clogs."

Their delight in small kindnesses is touching. "Are all Americans as nice as you?" a young woman with a concentration camp number tattooed on her arm asked an NRS worker. "It is hard to believe that you can trust people. I



THEIR PROMISED LAND

—From the Providence (R. I.) Journal-Bulletin.

always feel that everything is going to vanish before morning." Others make such comments as: "Everything that happened was a bad dream. This is a good dream"; or "In America, even children have bicycles"; or "I still think I'm seeing an American movie."

Typical of the state of mind of many was an incident at the shelter for orphaned children. When a group of youngsters arrived there, the small infants were taken to a special nursery. The older brothers and girls were deeply agitated. "The babies have been taken to the gas chamber," they whispered among themselves. They would not accept any reassurances until they were permitted to see the infants.

These attitudes, rooted in the tragic experiences of the newcomers, play as important a part in the program as the need for shelter, food and clothing, or vocational guidance. They require the thoughtful attention both of the national agency and of those who take up the tasks of adjustment in the local communities.

The experience of the past few weeks indicated that the problems of the current immigration can and will be overcome, as were those of earlier years.

The National Refugee Service is to be congratulated on its flexibility and its readiness to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it by the American-Jewish communities in the reception and adjustment of new Americans.

U.N.R.R.A.

THE trip to Europe of the director-general of U.N.R.R.A., Mr. La Guardia, was a wise and reassuring journey. Complaints about U.N.R.R.A. supplies in China have been discussed at length in the newspapers, as have certain conditions regarding the use of U.N.R.R.A. supplies in some countries of Europe, with the most frequent references perhaps to Yugoslavia. However, a recent editorial in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* speaks of "a serious charge of discrimination in the distribution of supplies in Greece." The editorial explains that the head of the U.N.R.R.A. mission in Greece asked to have action taken against Greek officials who appear not only to be representing such discrimination as part of the Greek Government's

policy but also to have been soliciting the aid of the U.N.R.R.A. mission in carrying it out. The Greek Government itself seems a little forgetful of the terms of its agreement with U.N.R.R.A. when it proposes to distribute food and clothing to its civil servants as a form of truck in place of wage increases. . . . No doubt there are some Greeks who would like to add the distribution of U.N.R.R.A. supplies to their political armoury. If so, Mr. Maben's reminder to the Government of his mission's guiding principles is a timely one.

It will be reassuring to have a direct report from Mr. La Guardia on the whole subject.

The director-general was in Switzerland for the fifth—and perhaps the last—council meeting of U.N.R.R.A., which had some important questions to consider. Some paragraphs are quoted below from an excellent statement by Anne O'Hare McCormick in the *New York Times* on the probable fate of U.N.R.R.A.:

UNRRA was conceived as a first-aid agency, the first joint effort of the United Nations to cope with the human emergency following the war. It was, in fact, the first joint undertaking of the United Nations in the practical field, and despite a slow start, many mistakes, a topheavy and often inefficient and injudicious personnel it performs a work of international salvage on a scale never attempted before and deserves the lion's share of credit for averting the worst consequences of the greatest catastrophe in history.

No relief job could deal adequately with a world in ruins, and no critic has a basis for judgment who has not seen the conditions UNRRA had to face. It has followed the victorious armies into dead cities and scorched country and saved millions of lives. It has fed, found temporary shelter for and helped to repatriate hordes of homeless and displaced who roamed the roads of Europe like new nomads in a new desert.

In many places it has been used for political purposes. Some countries have received more and others less than their share of its benefits.

The United States, Great Britain and Canada are the chief supporters of the fund and Russia has given very little, and this discrepancy, coupled with the fact that in the occupied countries the Red Army lives on the populations UNRRA has to feed, has increased friction

in the Big Four. Without its help, however, life could not have started again on any terms or at any level in the vast wastelands of Europe and Asia, filled with human debris more tragic and more dangerous than any material devastation.

Now UNRRA is scheduled to dissolve. The three countries that have furnished 93 per cent of the funds will discontinue their contributions

and the organization will cease to function in Europe in December of this year and in China three months later. The explanation is that the worst emergency is over and the nations so far in the receiving line must begin to pay their own way. It is expected that the United Nations will turn over part of the work to the World Health Organization, the International Bank for Re-



From "Punch"

THE WORLD'S SEED-TIME

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construction, the Food and Agriculture Organizations and such other agencies as may be created to deal with its unfinished business. There may even be another UNRRA, but at this moment there seems little prospect that it will have anything like the same financial backing.

NEW WELFARE MAGAZINES AND MONOGRAPHS

ADDITIONAL magazines in the social service field are always welcome. Among the new recruits is the *Social Service Digest*¹ in a small format but with an ambitious program of providing a "monthly digest of social work literature," edited by Joseph Andriola, a graduate of the University of Michigan School of Social Work.

The *Journal of Gerontology* (published quarterly for the Gerontological Society, Inc.)² will be useful to all those concerned with service to the aged. The new journal is edited by Robert A. Moore, with "correspondents" in Great Britain, in France, and in South America and with an impressive list of consultants and members of an advisory editorial board. Articles will be published dealing with the "problem of aging from the fields of natural and social science and the humanities" as well as reviews and selected abstracts from appropriate current literature.

Another item of news in this field is that *The Family*, an old colleague among welfare magazines, will become the *Journal of Social Case Work* after October 1, 1946.

Some recent interesting material, most of it in pamphlet form, coming from private organizations includes two studies from the Family Service Association of America: *Evaluating the Field Work of Students*, by Rosemary Reynolds (58 pp., \$0.60), and *Some Dynamics of Social Agency Adminis-*

tration, six papers by Helen W. Hanchette, Jeanette Hanford, Frank J. Hertel, Mary Hester, and Robert F. Nelson (76 pp., \$0.75); from the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, a very fine review of the Society's first sixty-five years of organized work for child protection in Massachusetts, entitled *Crusading for Children, 1878-1943*, by Ray S. Hubbard, with Foreword by Charles M. Storey, president, and with a list, at the end, of the various general secretaries, officers, and board members during this period (pp. 82); from the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, *Plans for an Institution for the Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children* (52 pp., \$0.50); from Ryther Child Center, Seattle, Washington, *Monograph on Organization and Operation of a Service for Emotionally Disturbed Children* (16 pp., mimeographed, available on request); from the Russell Sage Foundation, *Definitions of Terms and Instructions for Reporting Monthly Statistics of Family Casework* (26 pp., \$0.20) and *Statistics of Medical Social Casework in New York City: 1945* (31 pp., \$0.25); from the Consumers League of New York, *The Joys in New York* (26 pp., \$0.15) and *What Next for New York's Joys?* (32 pp., \$0.25); from the National CIO Community Services Committee, New York, *Community Resources for Relief for Strikers and Their Families* (mimeographed, \$0.15).

TWO NEW DOCUMENTARY FILMS

IN ADDITION to the documentary films I noted in our last issue,¹ attention is called in *The Child*, X (June, 1946), 196, to the important new films "Freedom and Famine" and "Suffer Little Children," two 16-mm. sound films, which make vivid the plight of the starving children of Europe, who must be fed or left to die.

Both of these films have been produced by the United States Department of Agriculture for the President's Famine Emergency Committee. Each runs ten minutes.

¹ See "The Documentary Film" in this *Review*, XX (June, 1946), 263-67.

¹ Vol. I, No. 1 (May, 1946). Pp. 47. 373 Spreckels Bldg., San Diego 1, Calif. Published monthly except July and August. \$3.00 a year.

² Published by Charles C. Thomas, 301-27 E. Lawrence Ave., Springfield, Ill. A quarterly magazine. \$6.00, including the *Non-Technical Supplement*, which when purchased separately is \$3.00.

The films can be borrowed from your state university film library or from a local film distributor. Make your request as far in advance of showing as possible and be sure to give the showing date or dates.

CONFIDENTIAL CHARACTER OF SOCIAL WORK

THE Washington, D.C., Chapter of the A.A.S.W. deserves commendation for the careful study of the confidential character of social work made by the Chapter's Committee on Records, and also for the publication of the committee report.¹ The committee was charged with responsibility for "formulating social work principles applicable to the protection of client and community in the use of case work material."

The four years' work of the committee on its special assignment is described as follows:

The committee began its work by having each member state the policies and procedures in her agency regarding disclosure of information and by having a staff member of the Social Security Board discuss that agency's standards for safeguarding public assistance information. Next the group examined briefly legal standards for privileged communications and ethical principles developed to guide social workers in disclosing information in cases of apparent conflict between the rights of the client and of others. The committee then decided to undertake a broad exploration of the confidentiality of the social agency-client relationship, thus extending the scope of the committee's work somewhat beyond its assignment.

Digest of pertinent references were developed as background material. Additional references appearing in social work literature while the committee was working on the project were also examined. These included statements of standards and principles relating to confidentiality prepared by other agencies and groups. In the spring of 1942, through a questionnaire

¹ *Principles of Confidentiality in Social Work* (Washington, D.C., 1946). Pp. ii+29. \$0.25. The two successive chairmen of the committee responsible for the report were Anna W. Schneider and Sarah F. Schroeder. The two chapter chairmen while the report was in preparation were Genevieve Gabower and Alice E. Padgett.

sent to case work agencies in and near the District of Columbia, additional information about current policies and procedures in this area was obtained. With this background of theory and practice the pattern to be followed in carrying out the project was developed. Members then drafted materials which were discussed by the committee. From these a selection of content was later made by the group and a draft of the following statement was prepared. This was discussed by the committee and twice revised prior to submission to and general approval by the Executive Committee of the Chapter in February 1945. Final revision followed receipt of comments from a number [of attorneys, social workers, and others] who were asked to review the draft and two group meetings sponsored by the Chapter to discuss the subject.

The thinking of the committee members underwent considerable change as they questioned every concept proposed for incorporation in the statement. Many questions that were raised could not be answered to the satisfaction of the group. It is therefore anticipated that as the statement is considered by others the principles suggested may be revised and some of the unanswered questions will be resolved.

The following initial summary of the committee's position is important:

Clients have a right to protection of personal information about themselves in their relationship with a social agency during and following the process of obtaining service, a right which may be superseded in exceptional situations. Recognition of this right requires adherence to the following principles:

- I. The client should be used as the primary source of information about himself and information sought about him should be limited to that which is essential to provide service.
- II. Within the agency information regarding a client should be revealed only to those persons and to the extent necessary to provide service.
- III. Other agencies and individuals should be consulted only with the client's consent and within the limits of that consent.
- IV. Only that information should be recorded and those records maintained that are essential to provide service and the use of records should be determined by agency function and the consent of the client.

In the report, provisions of the Social Security Act are noted which require the state plans for O.A.A., A.D.C., and A.B. to "provide safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly connected with the administration" of the programs. Attention is also called to state plans for vocational rehabilitation, which by administrative regulation of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation under the Barden-La Follette Act, must contain similar safeguards.

Earlier discussions of the subject are carefully reviewed in the report, which comes to some very useful conclusions including the development of "policies and procedures for inter-agency relationships that recognize the rights of clients to confidentiality. If necessary, these should differentiate between the various fields of practice and various types of work within a given field."

Another conclusion is the "interpretation by social workers and social agencies to clients and to the public of the social work obligation to confidentiality."

It is also recommended that there be joint exploration by social workers, attorneys, and students of ethics "of the applicability to social work of the concept of privileged communications, so that when social work is prepared to assume the responsibility of such legislation, draft bills can be introduced into state legislatures and the federal Congress."

The carrying through of this committee's work over four years was certainly a very useful chapter activity, and the two successive chapter chairmen and the committee chairman and members deserve our thanks.

THE BUFFALO CONFERENCES

THE late spring meetings of the National Conference of Social Work and the A.A.S.W. Delegate Conference were voted a great success in spite of various postwar difficulties. The N.C.S.W. was not so large as had been expected, partly because hotel ac-

commodations were limited and also because of the threatened railroad strike, which came, as had been feared by many, before the conference adjourned and left the stranded delegates to get home by bus or car or cab. But after the interruptions of the war years, the members were so glad to be together again that difficulties were minimized. Kenneth Pray, of the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, who was the Conference president, made the following statement in the *Conference Bulletin* (July, 1946):

All the distressing and confusing circumstances that converged in Conference week at Buffalo, to disturb the comfort, the peace of mind and the well-laid plans of officers, members, speakers and attendants, served only to prove once more the extraordinary vitality and strength of the National Conference and of social work as an organized force in America. The long over-hanging threat and the final actuality of coal strikes and railroad strikes—with the constant chance that travelers would be stranded either at Buffalo or en route—failed to throw a permanent cloud over the week's proceedings. Not even the uncertainty and inadequacy of housing accommodations—perhaps the most serious obstacle to a completely satisfactory meeting—prevailed over the determined purpose of social workers to make the most of this first postwar national reunion. The registration of more than 4,500, while probably no more than half of the number that would have been recorded if all conditions had been more favorable, was an astonishing demonstration both of loyalty to the Conference, as the exponent of social work solidarity and progress, and of faith in the essential value and significance of social work itself in these troubled times.

The Conference provided the usual wide and compact series of programs for 150 separate and varied subjects, so that thousands of members and delegates found excellent papers and discussions at every meeting place. Mr. Pray, as president of the Conference, turned over the office to Arlien Johnson, dean of the University of Southern California school. Dr. Ellen Potter, the 1945 president, whose conference was canceled by

government order, was present to introduce Mr. Pray on the opening night, when his presidential address discussed "Social Work in a Revolutionary Age."

A colleague, or perhaps we should say "fraternal delegate," from England who spoke at one of the general sessions was Mr. B. E. Astbury, O.B.E., the general secretary of the London Family Welfare Association—so well known as the former London C.O.S., the parent of our American C.O.S.—Family Welfare Societies.

The "time and place" report failed to revive some of the old arguments, for everyone was glad to accept San Francisco's invitation for April 13-19, 1947. The other officers elected, in addition to Arlien Johnson, president, included Robert Lane of New York, Ruth Gartland of Pittsburgh, and Kate McMahon of Boston, as the three vice-presidents; Arch Mandel of New York, treasurer; and the following members of the executive committee—Paul Benjamin, Philadelphia; Margaret Johnson, Cleveland; Dorothy King, Montreal; Howard Odum, Chapel Hill; Florence Hollis, New York; Rev. Almon Pepper, New York; and Helen Wright, Chicago. Section chairmen already appointed for next year include Florence Mason, case work; Maud Morlock, child care; Ray Huff, delinquency; Father Lauer- man, the aged; John McDowell, group work; Wilbur Newstetter, community organization; Grace Browning, public welfare; Grace White, health; Dr. Hyman Lippman, mental health; Grace Coyle, industrial problems; Dorothea Sullivan, social action; and Merrill Krughoff, administration.

Mr. Knight, the long-time general secretary of the Conference, is already making plans for the seventy-fifth anniversary meeting in 1948, which may be held jointly with a meeting of the revived International Conference of Social Work. Mr. Knight makes the following statement regarding the International Conference:

A meeting of the permanent board of the International Conference of Social Work has been called for Brussels, Belgium, August 26-28. Official representatives of existing National

Committees will attend, and social work leaders in countries of the United Nations who may be available will be invited to participate in the discussions.

The primary purpose of the meeting is to effect a reorganization of the International Conference and to start preparations for the first meeting, which is contemplated for 1948. It is not anticipated that there will be a large attendance, and only official delegates will be able to vote in the business session.

The A.A.S.W., celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, has reported the Delegate Conference in the June issue of the *Compass*, an interesting twenty-fifth anniversary number, which includes an analysis of A.A.S.W. membership by David M. Schneider of New York and a review of the first quarter-century by Frank Bruno, a former president. Other former presidents who have contributed to the anniversary number include Frances Taussig (1930-32), Stanley P. Davies (1932-34), Dorothy C. Kahn (1934-36), Harry Greenstein (1938-40), Wayne McMillen (1940-42), and Grace Coyle (1942-44). There are other interesting articles in this anniversary number.

IN MEMORIAM

LINTON B. SWIFT, 1889-1946

THE members of the more than two hundred family welfare agencies in the United States were shocked recently by the news of the death of Linton Swift, who has been for over twenty years general director of the Family Welfare Association of America. Linton Swift, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, had practiced law in his native city—St. Paul, Minnesota—for several years before World War I. He was a first lieutenant in World War I, and after the war he served with the Peace Commission on the Commission for the Protection of Minorities in Newly Created States. He was president of the American Association of Social Workers from 1936 to 1938

¹ The 1936-38 president was William Hodson, who was killed on the way to North Africa, early in the war.

and was actively identified as a committee member with most of the important national welfare committees over the last two decades, and his counsel was frequently sought in all parts of the country in difficult problems of community organization.

FRED S. HALL, 1870-1946

FRED SMITH HALL, so long connected with the Russell Sage Foundation, had an unusually constructive mind, and he was interested in the basic legislation necessary for good welfare programs. Like his brother George Hall, he served at one time as secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee; he was also a settlement head resident at one time, and then he served as secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee from 1908 to 1911. Mary Richmond, who was a loyal supporter of child labor legislation, knew Fred Hall's work and brought him back to New York in 1911 to serve as her associate director in the new Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, and he continued with the R.S.F. until his retirement. His last work for the Foundation was as editor of the *Social Work Year Book*, which he made a valuable tool for social workers. Although he received the Ph.D. degree in economics at Columbia in 1898 and published in that year a study called *Sympathetic Strikes and Lockouts*, Fred Hall was a modest man, and no one worried about calling him "Dr." Hall. He was a joint author with Miss Richmond of the well-known books *Child Marriages* and *Marriage and the State*. He was also joint author with Elizabeth Brooke of the volume on *American Marriage Laws*.

This *Review*¹ noted in 1943 Fred Hall's fine history of the New York Child Labor Committee, a record of the long-time work of his brother, George Hall. Fred Hall was a much-respected member of the A.A.S.W.,

¹ *Social Service Review*, XVII (March, 1943), 87-88.

and he contributed in very substantial measure to the development of the profession. But more than that, to him the profession was less important than the people whom the profession was supposed to serve.

SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY

1866-1946

SHERMAN COLVER KINGSLEY came from the Middle West. He was born in Iowa and was a graduate of Knox College. But his first experience in social work was in the East, following some graduate work at Harvard. Between 1894 and 1904 his experience included work with the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, the Boston Children's Aid Society, and the Boston Children's Friend Society. He then came to Chicago as general superintendent of the Relief and Aid Society, which was merged with the Chicago Bureau of Charities in 1909 as the United Charities of Chicago. Sherman Kingsley, as a result of the merger, became the first superintendent of the new organization. But he remained in this post for two years only. A pioneer in the field of child health and open-air classes and recreation for children, Sherman Kingsley became the first director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, which was established after the Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit in 1911.

He left the McCormick Fund six years later and was then identified with the community chest movement which followed the first World War. He was director of the Cleveland Welfare Federation from 1917 to 1921 and secretary of the Welfare Federation of Philadelphia from 1921 to 1934, when he retired.

Sherman Kingsley was a well-known figure at the National Conference of Social Work and was president of the Conference in 1927. He was friendly, generous, and kind, and he had a wide circle of friends wherever he lived or worked.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PSYCHOANALYSIS DISCOVERS SOCIAL REFORM!

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

To the Editor:

The intelligent lay public appears ignorant of a remarkable about-face on the part of leading psychoanalysts, at least in this country. That original and doctrinaire Freudism is being revised and liberalized is of course well known. But the phenomenon not sufficiently recognized is more significant. Psychoanalysis is "getting religion"—it is discovering the vital importance of the deep and far-reaching social reform movement.

It will be recalled by many that in the early days of Freudism the general public, which did not distinguish between the actual teachings of the master and the assertions of most of his loyal adherents, reached the conclusion that psychoanalysis meant essentially this: "Sex is everything." The neurotic and psychopathic patients who consulted the practitioners of the new science and art were, with hardly any exceptions, victims of sexual frustration, disappointment, and marital unhappiness. Impotence in men, frigidity in women, mounting divorce rates, prostitution, and promiscuity were the subjects to which the confident psychoanalysts directed general attention, and the cure for most of the patients treated by them consisted of a more satisfactory "love life."

Psychoanalysis as practiced in Europe and America for several decades seemed to be unaware of the great political, economic, and social movements of the world. That these movements have their heroes, their martyrs, their fervent and zealous workers, mattered little, if anything, to the practitioners. The writer of these lines once had a long and earnest talk with a prominent psychoanalyst, the director of an institute which also served as a school for physicians, nurses, and others who wished to study psychoanalysis in order to better their work in their several fields of activity. He expressed the opinion that the revolutionary leaders and teachers were all bitterly opposed to the present social and economic system because they had failed in it of the recognition and suc-

cess they had expected as their due. Envy and jealousy—qualities we do not admire—impel them to plot the destruction of the order that does not appreciate their talents. When Peter Kropotkin was mentioned in the course of the discussion, the psychoanalyst remarked that while Prince Kropotkin undoubtedly became famous for his scientific work, it was not that *kind* of fame he had coveted. Possibly he had aspired to political pre-eminence, perhaps even to the imperial crown, since his ancient family looked down on the Romanovs as parvenus.

This nonsense was a characteristic result of blindness to the real causes of social unrest, the wrongs and iniquities in the economic system. Many other examples of this incredible blindness can be cited.

Soviet Russia, officially at any rate, repudiates psychoanalysis, damning it as capitalistic, bourgeois, and anti-Marxian. Where individual Russian physicians practice it, they do so under other names. Some deny that there is anything truly new in psychoanalysis, and the old-fashioned psychology is not banned in the Soviet Union. The Russian opposition to Freudism as originally taught by many fervent, uncritical disciples is understandable, even if the policy of suppression and exclusion is shortsighted, illiberal, and in the end futile.

But Soviet Russia may adopt a different attitude toward psychoanalysis if it learns of the work of the Freudian "revisionists." The early indifference to and ignorance of the economic, political, and social problems of our time among psychoanalysts is giving way to recognition and study of those problems, to appreciation of their gravity and their impact on hosts of men and women in all strata, and, in some notable instances, to enlightened acceptance and support of basic reforms.

Particularly significant is a book entitled *Our Age of Unreason*, by Dr. Franz Alexander, published three years ago in this country and, unfortunately, not adequately reviewed¹ or

¹ [Attention may be called, however, to the careful review by Charlotte Towle in this *Review*, XII (December, 1943), 511-14.]

properly introduced to the *general public*. Dr. Alexander is an eminent psychoanalyst and the director of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute. His work is more than a plea for a return to reason and humanism; it is a successful attempt to defend modern ideas of democracy, liberty, and justice in the light of psychology and psychoanalysis. It expresses sentiments and uses language never before encountered in typical psychoanalytic literature. And, above all, it bases its conclusions on clinical and direct experience, on actual cases treated by psychoanalysts and cured or benefited.

Here are some significant quotations from Dr. Alexander's book:

Psychoneuroses are often a highly individual affair, owing to a combination of hereditary factors and unusual, unfavorable experiences during childhood. Their general spread, however, is a sign of social disintegration, a rift between the ideational and social structures. When a great part of the population experiences neurotic disturbances, the cause must be correspondingly general. Mass neurosis is not the cause, but the sign, of a disturbance in social evolution. The phenomena of cultural lag and psychoneuroses are thus intimately connected [p. 138].

Dr. Alexander draws upon Professor Ogburn, sociologist of the University of Chicago, for illustrations of the cultural lag, or of the discrepancy in the rate of change between different parts of a culture. And he directs attention to unemployment as a cause of social disturbance and individual neurosis.

A social system, he points out, is rendered stable by certain institutions and by attitudes which become traditional. But during rapid social changes stability becomes a disadvantage, and traditional attitudes tend to extreme conservatism. The rigidity of the conservatives prevents wholesome and evolutionary reforms, and mass discontent is thus generated. Obviously, the psychoanalyst cannot remove or even lessen this discontent by his science and art as applied to individual cases. Institutional changes are imperative, and such changes are brought about by mass movements, political and economic (p. 292).

In a chapter on "Defeatism concerning Democracy," Dr. Alexander reports that in his own practice he has "observed one emotional factor emerging with impressive regularity in the majority of his patients which illuminates the growing pessimism about democracy—insecurity." Americans, he says, still live largely by the tradition of the frontier, but our economic

anarchy renders social control and government regulation of industry an unavoidable necessity, and "the psychiatrist must emphasize the facts that economic insecurity undermines people's readiness to accept mature responsibilities and that the population can preserve its enthusiasm for a free democratic system so long as it enjoys at least a minimum of security." This, continues Dr. Alexander, "is not entirely a question of mentality, for the citizen's readiness to accept political responsibility must be matched by a reasonable chance of success, and this depends upon a system in which a mature and responsible attitude effectively provides a secure existence. The preservation of democracy is both a psychological and socio-economic problem" (p. 293).

The psychoanalyst as such is not a propagandist or a reformer, but Dr. Alexander apparently feels that it is his part of his function to reassure those Americans who oppose social control and basic economic changes because they fear and dislike totalitarianism in governments, that is, the loss of civil liberties and intellectual freedom, and he therefore has this to say to them:

Government control of production and distribution does not necessarily involve suppression of freedom in politics, thought and expression, but a partial restriction of economic freedom. If we resist this necessity, we shall suffer the suppression of all other individual liberties. . . .

Regulation and planning do not necessarily mean a rule by decree, but negotiation, persuasion and the reconciliation of private interests and point of view. . . . The ideals of the frontier can be preserved, but must be readjusted to the frontiers which are still open [p. 322].

Considering their source, these ideas and sentiments are truly remarkable. They spell a veritable revolution in psychoanalytic thinking. Dr. Alexander is more explicit and specific than others of his neo-Freudian school, but he does not stand alone. At least, those psychoanalysts who have been exposed to the intellectual and moral climate of Great Britain or the United States and who have watched the struggles for social, political, and economic reform, have gradually realized the narrowness and inadequacy of the Freudian theory and approach. Dr. Karen Horney of New York, a leading psychoanalyst, has written forcefully and persuasively of Freud's mistakes and limitations. According to Dr. Horney, Freud assumed that certain situations and personalities in the nine-

teenth century typified *universal* human nature, and his generalizations were too hasty and too sweeping. His biological explanations overlooked the economic, social, and historical factors which mold character and shape human conduct.²

Dr. Frederic Wertham, president of the Association for the Advancement of Psychiatry, has pointed out in the *New Republic*, apropos of a recent novel regarded by many as "Freudian," that the current literary and screen conventions about psychiatry and psychoanalysis are in truth outmoded and obsolete. Psychiatry, he observes, "is over-glamorized and over-publicized at a time when actually *it is a low ebb* with respect both to scientific progress and human application." What Dr. Wertham means is that the world social crisis has posed baffling problems to the psychiatrists and psychoanalysts which they are not prepared to grapple with and which have shaken their beliefs and undermined their neat theories.

Dr. Alexander understands this phenomenon thoroughly and blazes the way to effective and mutually advantageous co-operation by the psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts, on the one hand, and the progressive economists and sociologists, on the other. The neo-Freudians have no quarrel with social radicalism. They recognize that they have much to learn from Marx, Proudhon, the British Fabians, and the American radical left. This is good and important news to the social workers of the civilized world, whose "cases" require light from more than one direction. They surely are well aware of the fact that the hard, complicated cases they have to deal with reflect the world crisis and cannot be treated after the general pattern of the orthodox psychoanalysts. They have long since concluded that "sex is *not* everything," and that unemployment, destitution, dependence, disillusionment, exploitation, igno-

rance, and bad government severally and in various combinations produce mass neuroses! They will welcome the discovery of social reform and social work by psychoanalysis.

VICTOR S. YARROS

THE FAMILY ALLOWANCES ACT IN BRITAIN*

LONDON

To the Editor:

The Act giving Family Allowances in Britain, as an "assumption" of the Social Insurance system, to children while at school or while apprenticed reached the statute-book last July and brings to an end an active campaign which has been waged by its supporters for nearly thirty years. The main principle embodied in the Act can perhaps best be expressed in the words of the Beveridge Report:

It is unreasonable to seek to guarantee an income sufficient for subsistence, while earnings are interrupted by unemployment or disability, without ensuring sufficient income during earning. Social insurance should be part of a policy of a national minimum. But a national minimum for families of every size cannot in practice be secured by a wage system, which must be based on the product of a man's labor and not on the size of his family. The social surveys of Britain between the World Wars I-II show that in the first thirty years of this century real wages rose by about one-third without reducing want to insignificance, and that the want which remained was almost wholly due to two causes—interruption or loss of earning power and large families.

The Act itself departs from the Beveridge proposals of 8 shillings (\$1.60) a week (starting with the second dependent child), in so far as it provides for a 5 shillings (\$1.00) allowance (paid to the mother), supplemented in the recent Education Act by the provision of free school dinners and milk for all school children.

Many years ago Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland blazed the trail for Family Allowances, and Canada adopted the practice shortly before Britain. On the continent of Europe, France was the pioneer, having first introduced a system of payment by the state and by employers' associations in the nineties of the last century. Lately the U.S.S.R. has accepted a similar scheme. It

² [It is well to acknowledge here the growing trend in this direction since the Horney and Alexander works. This trend has been mounting steadily. Dr. Maxwell Gitelson's article in the March, 1945, *Social Service Review* could well be noted. Also the fact that out of the psychiatric experience in the recent war the most notable observation has been the one by Dr. Roy Grinker and Dr. John Spiegel to the effect that under sufficient stress any individual may show failure of adaptation evidenced in symptoms of profound mental and emotional disorders. See also Charlotte Towle's article in the June, 1946, *Public Welfare Journal* on "Public Welfare and Democracy."]

* [The writer of this letter is principal of Morley College (London) for Working Men and Women; vice-chairman of Britain's Children's Minimum Council and Family Endowment Society; and a Child Care Adviser for Britain's Ministry of Health.]

would appear, therefore, that the need for providing for children is felt in most parts of the world, irrespective of political doctrine or national circumstances.

The idea of Family Allowances originated before World War I in the fertile brain of Mr. H. G. Wells, famous British writer. In 1918 a small group was called together by that great social worker, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who, together with Dr. Maude Royden, Miss K. D. Courtney, and a few others, argued that equal pay for equal work between men and women could not, and should not, become a reality unless and until at least some of the burden of rearing the next generation was borne by the community instead of by the parents—generally the father—alone.

In 1923 Miss Rathbone wrote *The Disinherited Family*, which worked out the many social ramifications of the principle. This book has been acknowledged by Sir William Beveridge as the greatest contribution to economic thought since the beginning of the century; and a series of notable British economists indorsed his salute. But, during the twenties, there was still very little public support, save from some of the women's organizations. By the thirties, however, the women's organizations had one and all given the principle their support, and the issue was beginning to take its place in Parliamentary and party discussions. Debates, resolutions, and petitions in both houses of Parliament followed one after the other; and, outside Parliament, social organizations and most trade-unions ranged themselves, one by one, in support. The case was finally clinched by a series of contributory factors; first, the insistence by Sir William Beveridge in his Report on the need for children's allowances; second, the increased emphasis on child care as a setoff to the destructiveness of World War II; third, the increasing demands by women for equal pay for equal work, and the increasing number of married women who, having acquired incomes of their own through war work, did not relish the idea of becoming again wholly dependent on their husbands for their children's welfare; and, finally, the acceptance of the idea by organized labor.

NOT A PARTY QUESTION

From the beginning, Family Allowances has never been a party question, and it is not without significance that it was finally placed on the statute-book by a Coalition government. All

through, men and women in each political party have both supported and opposed the idea. The bill itself was finally passed with no opposition.

Actually, there has been very little reasoned opposition at any time. If there had been, success might have been achieved more quickly. Nothing is so difficult to overcome as prejudice, and it is prejudices with which the reasoned case for Family Allowances was mostly met. These prejudices included, first, the desire of the male that his wife and children should be his dependents and that he alone should be the "source from whom all blessings flow"—irrespective of the effect on their welfare. Next came the prejudices of a certain number of trade-unions, who feared the effect of family allowances on wages and who wanted to continue to fight for better conditions behind the petticoats of their wives and children. (In the end, the whole of Britain's Trades Union Congress recognized that this fear was both unnecessary and cowardly.) Lastly, there were those who, while wishing more provision to be made for children, distrusted the ordinary parent and felt that provision for children could be made most effectively through the social services.

Certainly an extension of the social services is desirable, on its merits. But the social services as they affect children do not, and cannot, affect the need for cash allowances. Social services and cash allowances should be regarded as complementary forms of provision rather than as rival solutions of the problem. But most of the social services for children, such as the education, health, or recreational services, do not help to provide them with basic necessities. In fact, they rather increase the burden on parents by extending the period of dependency, promoting larger appetites, and imposing higher standards of child care. One of the chief problems—how to provide enough houseroom for a family of children—cannot be met at all except by some form of cash allowance; and there is little indeed that can be done for the child under school age except within the provision of certain subsidized or free foods and other goods.

What is the answer to those who fear that children's allowances will in many cases result in wasteful expenditure on the part of one or both parents and in less housekeeping money being earned or given by fathers to mothers? This may happen in a certain proportion of cases, since nothing can protect a child from really neglectful parents. But parents as a whole are intensely anxious for the welfare of the children,

and the fact that payment may be abused by a small minority is no reason for not giving allowances to the vast majority. It is true that many mothers require further enlightenment in child care, dietetics, and cooking, and this must be tackled energetically by means of education. A large proportion of mothers have little to learn in these directions but are called upon day by day to make "bricks without straw," which not only has a distressing effect on their children but on themselves.

The Act comes into force on August 1, 1946.

EVA M. HUBBACK

THE REHABILITATION PROGRAM AT CAMP LA GUARDIA

To the Editor:

I think that your readers may want to know about an interesting program developed for the rehabilitation of men at the Camp La Guardia project, run by the Department of Welfare of New York City. Not only was it noteworthy as a project of rehabilitation but it also had value in converting a hitherto unemployable person into a productive and useful contributor toward the war effort. Many of these men are presently employed in industrial plants, hospitals, public utilities, farms, and other types of business.

Camp La Guardia,¹ founded on May 1, 1934, by the Department of Welfare, was run as a rehabilitation center until March 1, 1944, when, because of a very low intake, it was taken over by the Department of Correction and Purchase for the operation of a full-scale farm and cannery program.

To Camp La Guardia, with attention focused on those in need of rehabilitation, men were referred exclusively by the Department of Welfare. At times, the magistrates' courts, the Parole Commission, the Department of Hospitals, or private agencies referred men to the Welfare Department for possible camp admission, if such persons seemed able to profit

by the type of rehabilitation given at the camp. Every referral to camp was voluntary, and the man's stay in camp was also voluntary.

The men sent included (1) those who had been receiving some form of assistance in New York City for years and who lived alone in dingy furnished rooms or lodging-houses, eking out a precarious livelihood from odd jobs, developing dependency patterns, with their zest for living gone, with their skills or initiative lost, and without the ability to plan for themselves; (2) those who were in need of work therapy, guidance, and a more wholesome and regulated life; and (3) those who seemed temporarily to need separation from their families, either because of domestic conflict or because of health conditions.

The clean, fresh surroundings of Camp La Guardia and the healthful country atmosphere provided a marked contrast to the grim and sordid lodging-house environment, where many had formerly lived. And the case worker at the camp, by personal interviews, by observation of the man in varied activities, by contact with department heads, and by frequent consultation with the camp physician, was able to study each man—to prepare each man for employment. The medical program, job assignment, recreational activities, and the final employment referral were important factors in the rehabilitation process.

As part of the medical program, men were provided with artificial legs, artificial eyes, dentures, eyeglasses, trusses, surgical belts, and orthopedic appliances. The job assignment enabled a man to renew his work habits and to revive or gain work skills. The recreational program made his stay at camp as pleasant and profitable as possible; it provided opportunities for making friends and for learning to use his leisure time more constructively. The referral to private employment was the fulfilment of the client's desire to become once again self-maintaining—a desire which was cultivated through the camp activities.

One typical case handled at the camp was that of Mr. C., age forty-five, who had worked as a fire-loss insurance clerk from 1920 to 1941 and lost his job because of excessive drinking, which seemed to be due to extreme worry and sorrow over the death of his wife in 1938. He felt alone and depressed. His work suffered, his health failed, and his general attitude was morose. He descended to the Bowery, retrogressed, and applied for Shelter-Care Assistance in August, 1941, and two months later was referred

¹ The camp is located in the foothills of the Catskill Mountains, in the hamlet of Greycourt, Orange County, New York. Its 360 acres of land lie in a picturesque landscape of rolling fields, black fertile soil, and unsymmetrical hills and dales. The barracks and houses, workshops, lawns, well-kept farm lands, and athletic facilities—baseball diamond and soccer, tennis, handball, and horseshoe courts—make it a very suitable place for rehabilitation purposes.

to Camp LaGuardia for rehabilitation. When he arrived in camp and was interviewed by a case worker to determine how he could best be helped, he appeared to be very thin, sick-looking, and nervous.

After evaluating his skills, employment background, and medical record (obtained by the camp physician's examination), the case worker tentatively suggested that a clerical assignment in camp—possibly as an assistant timekeeper or clerk in the construction department or administrative office—might be useful. However, he was found reluctant to undertake any type of clerical work because he did not want to do anything which would "tax his mind," but he was willing to work as a porter in the building and transportation department.

The case worker frequently saw him sitting by himself on the camp grounds and reading a book borrowed from the library. He talked to no one, showed no interest in the recreational activities in the evening, and was quite despondent. He did not even sit in the camp tap room and sip a glass of beer with the men or associate with them in the camp canteen. At the end of four weeks he was found to have gained no weight.

One evening the case worker asked him to play checkers in the recreation hall, and he reluctantly consented. He beat the case worker in two games. A group of camp members had stood around while the game was in progress, and one of them challenged him. Mr. C. won again! The checker tournament was only one week away. If he practiced, Mr. C. might win a prize. During the next four days he won many games, and his reputation as a checker player spread. In the checker tournament he won third place, and he managed to make friends with a few of his checker mates.

Community singing was a popular weekly feature at camp, and, after some persuasion by his newly found friends, Mr. C. agreed to attend. During one sing, he was seen coming into the recreation hall with a number of friends and seemed particularly gay that evening. It was a beautiful fall day, and they had all returned from a long walk through the country woods. They were given the camp mimeographed song sheets and began singing even before the master of ceremonies, who was a camp member or a social service worker, appeared on the stage. At first the camp members' choir entertained with two folk tunes, and then the band, consisting also of men of the camp, played a number. One of the men from the audience requested the song "In the Gloaming." Others approved, and the band began playing it. Mr. C., sitting with his friends, sang the song quietly, but his friends overheard him and thought he sang well. They called to the master of ceremonies, "How about Mr. C. singing the number on the stage?" The audience approved, so Mr. C. was escorted to the stage. After one chorus, the choir joined in, then the band, and soon the entire

audience. Everyone was participating! One of the social workers in the audience noticed a camp member holding the song sheet upside down but singing heartily. The applause was plentiful. Mr. C. left the stage flushed!

The next day, during a visit of the case worker to the different departments to observe the men on their jobs, Mr. C. was found to be in a gay mood—whistling while mopping. His foreman remarked that "an overnight change occurred in the man." Mr. C. was asked to come to the social service office that afternoon to discuss a change of assignment as a receptionist and clerk in the social service department. At this time he seemed agreeable to transfer and said that his nervousness had decreased, he felt more at ease, and was not afraid of "taxing his mind." After three months he was no longer despondent and morose; he was constantly in contact with people and accepted them more readily. He began to mingle with them to a greater extent during his leisure hours. His health and appearance improved. He had a nice tan, gained eight pounds, took better care of his clothing, and used the camp laundry and tailor services more regularly. He was subsequently accepted as a member of the editorial board of the camp magazine and given a voice in picking winners of the essay contests.

In January, 1943, Mr. C. inquired about the possibility of a placement in private industry. Of the available jobs, he preferred one involving a half-day of general clerical duties and the remainder of the day as a porter. He was interviewed by the employer and was accepted. A ten-day furlough was authorized so that if he failed to make a satisfactory adjustment, he could return to camp within the ten-day experimental period.

After three days we learned from the employer that Mr. C. complained of illness and inability to do the required work. The clerical tasks were well performed, but he could not do the porter work. A full-time clerical position was not available, and Mr. C. therefore returned to camp. He explained to his case worker that he was unable to cope with the many duties assigned to him. He tried to do *everything* with the "highest efficiency," with the result that after three days he was sore all over. The case worker reviewed with Mr. C. the importance of organization of duties, time allotment for each task, and the necessity of working within one's physical and mental capacity. He was given a temporary clerical task in the farm department, where particular emphasis was given to his organization and performance of work. While he was doing his work, his foreman and caseworker had frequent discussions with him. Three days later, he felt ready and able to take a private job and was referred to a large near-by hotel, where he was given a job as a uniformed doorman and official greeter. In the job referral, the case worker planned with Mr. C. a constructive approach toward a more useful pattern of living, which included a discussion of his manage-

ment of funds, investment in war bonds, and other methods of saving. He was also encouraged to cultivate further friendships and to plan useful activities during his leisure time.

The case worker, aware that the employer also had an insurance business, told him of Mr. C.'s fire-loss insurance background. The employer promised that should such a vacancy occur, he would consider Mr. C. for the job. Three months later we learned that he had become friendly with a guest and obtained a clerical position in the guest's office. We later learned that Mr. C. has remarried.

Another case is that of Mr. N., a forty-year-old Negro who had lost his leg in 1939 while attempting to hop a freight train. After that, for a greater part of the time, he received public assistance. While receiving Shelter Care, Mr. N. requested an artificial leg, but because of a history of chronic intoxication and dismissal from jobs for drinking, even before July, 1939, his request was denied. Mr. N. did not show any positive qualities or any indication of an ability or desire to provide, manage, and care for himself. The worker felt that a referral to Camp LaGuardia might afford Mr. N. a chance to shoulder responsibility. This could best be developed, perhaps, in a supervised and sheltered environment where his essential needs would be met. If his behavior and adjustment were good, the granting of an artificial leg would then be approved. Mr. N. concurred in this plan and in September, 1943, was referred to the camp. The case worker analyzed the reasons for drinking. The man had been separated from his wife since 1924. They just could not get along. They disagreed constantly, and after six years of marriage they separated. This made him very despondent, and he started to drink to "forget his troubles." He lost a number of chauffeur jobs because he "could not keep his mind on the work," and during the depression he had no steady employment. The lack of economic security and not knowing where his next meal would come from increased his desire for drink. While receiving relief at the Municipal Lodging House, he said his morale was very low because of the "monotonous type of life." He continued drinking to forget his troubles and relieve his monotony.

The case worker at first tried to show him our confidence in his ability to manifest a good behavior pattern, after which an artificial limb would be granted. He was well-built, had powerful arms, and walked quickly. Our physician reported that he was in good health except for the amputated right leg.

When the case worker gave Mr. N. a complete picture of the camp, including all the departments, recreational and medical facilities, etc., the client expressed a preference to work in the Camp Fire Department and was assigned as a firehouse caretaker whose duties included rolling the hose, polishing the fire engine, and cleaning the firehouse. His performance was found satisfactory.

Active in the recreational activities, he won first prize in the horseshoe tournament. He would balance himself on one crutch and pitch the horseshoes with accuracy, beating many an oldtimer at the game. He also won third place in the billiard tournament. The case worker noticed, too, that he was quite friendly with his opponents, accepted very readily the decision of the scorekeeper or referee, and was a "good sport." He occasionally was seen in our taproom, where men drank a limited number of beers, chatted, and listened to the intermittent playing of the jukebox. He had his one glass of beer on an occasional night and boasted to the case worker that it was "more than sufficient." The case worker conferred with the timekeeper and foreman, who found him punctual and efficient. He volunteered to work extra hours in the absence of another man, and his foreman was impressed with his friendly, agreeable, and cooperative spirit.

We received favorable reports from the building department foreman and also observed Mr. N.'s personal habits. His personal belongings and his appearance were good, his room was always clean, and his bed well made. After three months of careful observation, his behavior was found to be exemplary, his attitude a very positive one of wanting to help himself, his morale uplifted, and his confidence in himself appreciably restored. After consultation with the camp physician, an artificial leg was approved, because it would definitely increase his employability. When he received the leg, it took him as little as three weeks to adjust and ambulate with it, even though he had never worn one before.

Soon Mr. N. felt strong and secure and ready for a job. An interview was arranged for him with an employer, and he was given a job as a porter in a large hotel with the hope that if his work was satisfactory, he would be given a chance to return to his former occupation of chauffeur. One year later we learned that he was still employed and working part time as a chauffeur and earning twenty dollars a month more than his starting salary.

Even a man seventy-two years of age is not beyond rehabilitation! Mr. K. had loads of experiences to keep the men interested, and there was always a group around, either on the camp grounds, in the canteen, or in the taproom. Our amateur-night shows were not complete without one of Mr. K.'s yarns. During one of their unity shows, where men would sing folk tunes and dance in the manner and style of their native land, Mr. K. competed with a Greek and Russian in their songs and dances.

Born in New York City in 1871, Mr. K.'s life was spent mainly "on the road," traveling from town to town, stopping long enough to earn a few pennies in a labor camp, field, or barn. In 1929, when he was no longer able to do laboring work, he became a scissors-grinder and trudged from house to house earning enough to make his meals

and "flop." After a sentence of thirty days at Rikers Island for vagrancy, he was referred to the Municipal Lodging House. From there he was sent to the camp in August, 1942. The case worker discussed with him the shortage of labor during this wartime emergency and the importance of everyone's performing useful work. At first he was assigned to light duty as a groundsman, but it was found that he could not do much walking because of varicose veins. He could do a standing job, however, and he agreed to accept a pot-washer assignment in the Steward Department. He gradually accustomed himself to general kitchen work, as he was given more and varied duties by the steward. He remarked that for the first time in a long period he was leading a regular and wholesome life, eating "three squares" at specified times, working regular hours with time for relaxation and leisure in a healthful environment. After six months he felt ready for a job, was referred to kitchen work in a restaurant, and did very well. The employer said that Mr. K. was a morale builder among his kitchen staff—kept the staff amused with his songs and tales and they all seemed to enjoy working. At the age of seventy-two, Mr. K. was getting the highest salary he had ever earned!

Another case was that of Mr. G., a thirty-four-year-old man, with left hemiplegia. After a study of his skills, employment, and medical background, he was assigned to sorting vegetables and was encouraged to use both hands in this operation. Our aim was to improve the use of the right hand so as to increase his employability. By the end of four weeks, he was given work in the farm, picking different vegetables. By successive stages he was given tasks which required more frequent and varied use of the hands. Seven months of this work therapy with medical treatment made Mr. G. physically fit for work in private employment, and the United States Employment Service helped to place him as a farm hand. His case worker received several letters indicating his satisfaction and success on the job.

It is recognized that in the coming crucial years, rehabilitation work will be of great importance. We hope that this account of Camp La Guardia may be of service to other agencies engaged in rehabilitation work.

MORRIS GUNNER

NEW YORK CITY

BOOK REVIEWS

American Foundations for Social Welfare. By SHELBY M. HARRISON and F. EMERSON ANDREWS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. Pp. 249. \$2.00.

What began in 1915 as a series of bulletins and directories on foundations in social welfare appears in 1946 as an unexpectedly significant little book about the organization and present status of this American "social invention" of the twentieth century. Almost one-half of the volume is a directory of these foundations, with fairly complete information for 364 out of a total of 505 foundations that are listed. The remainder of the volume is an analysis of foundations by types, by organization and administration, fields of activity, financial policies, and trends. The authors have carefully documented their inquiry with appendices describing their method and giving listings classified by activities and geographical distribution. An exhaustive, annotated bibliography is also included.

A foundation is defined as "an instrument for the contribution of private wealth to public purpose." The authors estimate that the total expenditures of foundations average somewhat less than three cents of the annual philanthropic dollar expended, but the aggregate assets represent probably 15 per cent of all philanthropic endowments. Education ranks first among activities, social welfare second, and health as a close third.

The significance of this publication, however, would seem to lie in certain facts about the resources and financial policies of foundations. The authors, who are the general director and the director of publications of one of the oldest foundations, have very honestly and painstakingly presented as much information as they were able to secure about this aspect of the subject and have called attention to questions of policy.

The reader is, first of all, impressed with the individualistic nature of foundation policy—as individualistic as the fortunes from which foundations sprang. Each foundation is a law unto its own board of directors. Exempt from taxation under an ancient precedent, foundations are not required to make any public accounting of their activities, financial or otherwise. The original assumption was that charitable ex-

penditures of this kind would always be in the public interest. The early foundations that originated in fortunes made from exploitation of the resources of a new country (steel, oil, finance) have become institutions in themselves and have performed many services in the world-wide interests of the public. Their founders were often men of great force and vision. More recent foundations, however, appear less interested in giving an account of their stewardship. Of the 505 foundations listed, less than one-half were willing to give figures for publication as to their assets and liabilities; and 171 refused to submit any financial information. Significant in this connection is the authors' statement:

The past several years have seen a mushroom growth of "family" foundations, set up by living individuals or family groups as a corporate—and tax-exempt—channel for charitable contributions. . . . A disturbing number of such "foundations" appear to have no headquarters other than the office of a law firm, to be modest to the point of complete silence about any program for social or public welfare, and indeed to be making no present contributions of any sort from their accumulated and accumulating wealth.

An examination of the financial figures collected from the thirty largest foundations in 1944, which hold from three-quarters to seven-eighths of all assets, raises other questions. One is why assets have remained stationary or increased while grants have declined by more than 60 per cent between 1930 and 1944. Even reduced income from investments and change in policy from grants to outside groups to operating programs, would not seem wholly to explain the decline in grants. In view of this trend the case against foundations as perpetuities and in favor of liquidating funds like the Rosenwald Foundation gains cogency. Another question pertains to the purposes for which funds are expended. At present this decision rests with a few individuals who may or may not represent the best interests of the public. One director of a foundation has stated, "The aim is to give as little as possible for as short a time as possible." The danger of capricious decision is evident.

Foundations in their original form would seem to be a passing phenomenon that was

characteristic of a certain period in the history of a capitalistic economy. The era of large individual fortunes is over. With the exception of the Ford Foundation (1936) the recent foundations have small capital assets. The increasing expenditures from tax funds for general welfare purposes, including research, are supplanting those from private sources. The time would seem to have come when the foundation as a social institution should be safeguarded from abuse by such regulation as inspection, annual audits, and public reports—methods of regulation that have long been applied in most states to private charitable organizations; and possibly, also, they should be subject to taxation.

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Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1945. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. x+407. \$5.00.

When in 1945 the National Conference of Social Work for the first time in its seventy-two years of history had to cancel plans for the annual meeting, there was disappointment on the part of many members. There was probably also some skepticism that the Executive Committee would be able to carry out its plan to collect and make available the conference papers for local conferences and publication of the *Proceedings*. This excellent volume was therefore something of a surprise.

In preparation of these *Proceedings* the usual criteria of timeliness, practical usefulness, and presentation of new data were kept in mind, but selection this time had to be made in advance by the Editorial Committee on the basis of suggestions developed by the Program Committee.

The thirty-eight papers included are grouped under such major headings as "Broad Issues," "The Returning Veteran," "Next Steps in Public Social Services," "Problems of Organization," "Labor Participates in Social Work," "Questions of Method," "Social Work Serves Children," and "Social Action." Papers on method are definitely subordinated to those concerned with major national problems.

The presidential address by Dr. Ellen C. Potter, "The Year of Decision for Social Work," measures up to her usual scholarly standard. With emphasis on the relation of social work to

the church, education, science, economics, and government, she points out the need for the Conference to chart its course for the postwar period. After a review of the historical development of the Conference by decades she sums up the present, saying that

Our seventh decade brings us back full circle to government as a dominant factor in the field of Social Work, and our programs reflect Federal participation with the states in leadership and funds, and the adaptation of professional skills developed in the private social work field to the mass production service job which government must supply.

As a basis for her discussion of the future, Dr. Potter sampled Conference opinion concerning certain important questions. She concluded that in the future the greatest service of the conference "will be in 'discriminating and forward looking fidelity' to those principles which have guided us throughout our history. . . ." This means for the Conference a rededication to the educational function rather than that of social action, unreserved commitment to the elimination of interracial, religious and other minority cultural tensions, commitment to the service of the nation as a whole including the transfer of our Conference from region to region and finally the development of a greater continuity of relationship with its membership throughout each year.

The volume is enriched by the contributions of such well-known friends of the Conference as Vera Micheles Dean, who writes on "The Implications of the Peace," and William Haber on "Economic and Social Readjustments in the Reconversion Period." Among the many busy public officials who contributed are Colonel William C. Menninger, Dr. Thomas J. Parran, Arthur J. Altmeyer, Jane Hoey, and Ewan Clague.

There is, of course, some unevenness in the quality of the papers presented, but on the whole the volume is excellent and merits a place on the shelf of everyone interested in social welfare.

GRACE BROWNING

Indiana University

Government Assistance in Eighteenth-Century France. By SHELBY T. MCCLOY. Durham: Duke University Press, 1946. Pp. xii+496. \$6.00.

The first third of this book is devoted to natural disasters; it includes chapters on the

winter of 1709, later famines, efforts at famine prevention, flood relief and control, fire relief and prevention, relief for epizootics, and the plague of 1720. The remaining two-thirds is devoted to social welfare institutions and includes chapters on medical aid beyond hospital walls; aid to hospitals; aid to asylums; care of foundling children; treatment of beggars, vagabonds, and the needy (all in one chapter); charity workshops; pensions (including those to courtiers); aid to large families in need; assistance to refugees, captives, and war victims; educational aid (including military academies); and government aid in relation to ecclesiastical and private charities. It ends with a useful, but far from comprehensive, bibliography.

When one compares this book with the distinguished writings of Camille Bloch and Ferdinand-Dreyfus on social welfare in the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary epochs, respectively, two differences are at once apparent. Mr. McCloy's book covers a larger period and a wider range of subjects.

What Mr. McCloy omits is as important as what he includes. He avoids any account of the movement of ideas. Nowhere does it become clear how many of the phenomena that are here described go back to the age of Saint Vincent de Paul or even to the Middle Ages, and how many of them are manifestations of eighteenth-century Enlightenment. The literature of the Enlightenment is nowhere explored; and there is no mention of such things as the Chevalier de Joucourt's article on beggars in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* or the excellent questions posed in discussing the English poor law in Naigeon's *Encyclopédie méthodique*; nor is there any discussion of the cult of beneficence and philanthropy, which—in the words of one popular dramatist—made a man "un philosophe sans le savoir" and helped create the moral atmosphere in which the phenomena described by Mr. McCloy became possible. No one who reads this book would guess that the eighteenth-century Frenchmen were doing some basic thinking on the subject of society's debt to the poor; for that was the way in which they expressed themselves. The epoch-making reports of the Constituent Assembly's Committee on Mendicity seem to have been used only in part, and even then only as a source for unreliable statistical estimates, instead of being given the analysis and explanation that they deserve. The laws of March, 1793, in which the Convention placed on the First Republic's agenda the implementation

of those parts of the Declaration of the Rights of Man that proclaimed the right to work or maintenance, do not seem to be even mentioned. The laws instituting the *livre de la bienfaisance nationale* in the spring of 1794 are merely pecked at (e.g., pp. 176, 278-79), without being correlated with the general social policy of the Committee of Public Safety as it has been made known to us through the brilliant work of Albert Mathiez; and indeed Mr. McCloy seems to attach so little importance to laws that he does not even cite them from primary sources. The same underestimate of the importance of legislative action—a surprising underestimate in a book devoted explicitly to governmental assistance—shows itself also in the way in which the financing of local *bureaux de bienfaisance* under laws promulgated in the autumn of 1796 is tucked away in a footnote (p. 458), from which the uninitiated could not possibly guess its long-term significance. In short, this book represents the kind of social history that systematically omits and underestimates the role of deliberate and conscious policy in the evolution of society.

One result of this avoidance of what eighteenth-century France called "philosophy" or "ideology" is a certain lack of perspective and proportion. For example, one of the Enlightenment's most important lines of attack on misery was the removal of barriers to opportunity by such measures as the abolition of guilds and other corporate monopolies; but negative "police power" action of this kind is outside the scope of this book. Another result is that no attempt is made to show the relationship between Revolutionary legislation and previous practice; the book consequently fails to give the sense of development that might normally be expected in a historical work.

The lack of a positive approach leads to the condemnation of the taxation of the rich to meet the needs of the poor as "bizarre" (p. 281) and might be illustrated by the following evaluation of relief works: "No perfect solution of the problems of unemployment and pauperism has ever been found. Many have offered suggestions, and some, panaceas. Religion, war, change of government, strikes, higher wages, and lower wages, birth control and no control, scientific advance, and exploitation of weaker peoples have all been tried with never more than temporary success" (p. 298). The lack of any discoverable frame of reference in either eighteenth-century philosophy or twentieth-

century social science prevents this book from being either administrative or institutional history and greatly lessens its conceivable usefulness as a contribution either to the history of eighteenth-century France or to the problem of the relationship between government and poverty.

W. HARDY WICKWAR

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Asistencia social al menor. By JOSÉ L. ARAYA, with an Introduction by SEBASTIÁN SOLER. Rosario, Argentina: Editorial Rosario, Sociedad Anónima, 1945. Pp. 374. Arg. \$10.

Asistencia social al menor is a well-documented book on child welfare, which comes to fill a well-felt need in the field of social work literature in South America. The author is juvenile court judge of the Judicial System of Rosario, Argentina; professor of child legislation of the School of Social Service of Rosario; and member of the Board of Minors of the Province. The book reveals the author's fine understanding of childhood problems and his insight into the modern philosophy for their treatment. His training and experience in the field of law, in close collaboration with social workers and other professional people devoted to child welfare, is the basis for his authoritative analysis of the subject. His long list of previous publications, such as *Child Neglect and Delinquency*, *The Child before the Labor Court*, *Behavior Certificates for Delinquent Minors*, and others, are evidence of Sr. Araya's broad vision and scholarly mind. They all help us to see with satisfaction that he has gone beyond the boundaries of his position into the realm of constructive, critical analysis and has produced invaluable studies which have undoubtedly benefited the development of child welfare programs in Argentina.

He is a believer in social work, and his confession of faith has been crystallized in this book, which he dedicates to the social workers of his country, who have awakened there a conscious realization of the need for technical assistance to needy children, and to all other people who will help to solve realistically and not sentimentally the many problems of his young compatriots.

In the nine chapters of his book the author traces in summary form the history of child

legislation and child welfare in the world, with emphasis on certain important developments, such as child labor in England, beginnings of social work, the League of Nations' conferences, Pan-American congresses, and the most recent events such as the Chapultepec conference, the Beveridge Report on Social Security, and others. Then in more detail he describes the development of child welfare in Argentina from the colonial days, when in 1642 Captain Juan Flores was appointed "father of orphans and minors, responsible for their care," until the present moment. He cites General Manuel Belgrano's *Memorias económicas*, published in 1796, in which the "population of indigent children exposed to the dangers resulting from their poor condition" receive special mention. Belgrano advocated free education and vocational schools. He believed with many of his contemporaries everywhere in the world that poor people were incurably lazy and that they all should be forced to work. "Work prevents vagabondage and laziness, which cause the dissolution of good habits."

After Belgrano, came Rosas, Echevarría, Alberdi, Pellegrini, Sarmiento. Each ruler practices his own philosophy about the care of children and handling of the poor. All sorts of changes take place, but a few permanent organizations and institutions remain to shape the pattern of today's standards of child care in Argentina.

Sr. Araya points to the Constitution of Argentina as being inspired by that of the United States. It includes in its preamble the responsibility of the government to promote the general welfare. The influence of the establishment of the first school of social work in Buenos Aires in 1924 and of the work of many leaders of social thought and social action has led to the enactment of good child labor laws, establishment of juvenile courts, appointment of boards for the protection of minors, and in 1944, for instance, to the establishment of the Child Welfare Office, which is a part of the Social Assistance Bureau of the Department of Labor and Welfare.

Great attention is given by the author to discussing throughout the book the personality of the child and the importance of knowing him intimately before formulating any plan for his education or re-education. He cites authorities in the fields of psychology, pediatrics, and psychiatry to back his statements. Exogenous factors which influence the child's personality, such as the family, whose fundamental importance is always emphasized, are mentioned and analyzed

thoroughly. His child welfare thesis is summarized by saying that family life, basic education, and the sharing of community life are the best laboratories for children to learn democratic living and that economic security is essential to preserve the family. He also advances the thought that the political situation of a country is conditioned by the nature and degree of development of its community resources. Especially interesting are the many local studies cited, which denote that due attention is being given in Argentina to deal with the problems of children in a scientific manner.

The legal and social protection of the family, the care of the life and health of the mother and child, the protection of special disadvantaged groups, the delinquent minor, the child laborer, and the need not only for the physical but the moral and intellectual protection of the minor are also covered in the remaining chapters.

The author has added an appendix to his book with an international bibliography on all the subjects touched upon in the text which will be very valuable to the student of child welfare.

MARIA PINTADO DE RAHN

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All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South. By RUPERT B. VANCE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. xxxiii+ \$5.00.

This volume should fulfil the hopes of its author and take its place as a companion volume to *Southern Regions of the United States*, which was published by Howard Odum in 1936. An immense amount of labor has gone into the preparation of the material, and the author in his Foreword pays tribute to the co-operation provided by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and to Nadia Danilevsky, who was responsible for most of the statistical calculations. Many of the data were derived from the 1940 census volumes, and a vast number of tables and charts are included. Since the reviewer is neither a statistician nor an expert on population trends, the book has been read from the point of view of one interested in public welfare administration and social welfare planning, especially in the southern states.

These are the states with the lowest per

capita income, the highest birth rate and therefore a higher proportion of children to be educated, and a high potential of A.D.C. recipients and child welfare problems. These are the states "rightly called the seedbed of the nation" and at the same time referred to as "the nation's economic problem number one." The southeastern region, on the other hand, had the smallest proportion of persons sixty-five years and over, which is fortunate in view of their financial inability to meet the problem of dependency in old age. The general data on income, mortality rates, and population trends included in this volume are not unknown to the state and local administrators of our public assistance programs; and, in fact, they gave considerable impetus to the recent attempt on the part of southern Democrats to force the variable grant-in-aid amendment to the Social Security Act through Congress.

However, the chapters on income, population, and public health are useful and of particular interest to anyone concerned with the total health and welfare program which the South so urgently needs; and the author consciously relates his data to such questions. The chapters on mobility and the trends in migration are also pertinent to any consideration of our settlement legislation as well as to the larger issue of industrialization versus the rural economy.

These brief comments in no way do justice to the wealth of statistical material graphically presented and discussed in this volume but merely suggest some of the ways it may prove useful to those concerned with southern public assistance, child welfare, and public health programs.

ELIZABETH WISNER

Tulane University

Economic Progress and Social Security. By A. G. B. FISHER. London: Macmillan & Co., 1945. Pp. xi+362. \$5.00.

Professor Fisher, an English economist, wrote this volume while holding a chair in the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Although he was presumably supposed to write on international economics, his specific discussion of that subject begins at page 218. However, he sees no need to apologize for this, declaring that "both experience and general reasoning have by now demonstrated with abundant clearness the intimate organic relations between internal and

international policy." Readers of the *Social Service Review* may regard the title of the book as somewhat misleading. Hoping to find it in an over-all view of social security, they will discover only twenty-five pages specifically devoted to security and another ten to the "social insurance approach." They should, however, enjoy this analysis of the fundamental relations between economic progress and security, written in the lucid, nontechnical prose (with occasional flashes of wit) which British scholars are not afraid to employ.

Professor Fisher may be regarded as a "right-wing" economist. He is no Keynesian. In fact he does not take time to present a specific criticism of Keynesian theory. He merely rejects implicitly the hypothesis of "economic maturity." He asserts that "the aggregate volume of technical change in our time has probably had at least as profound an influence as all the changes of the Industrial Revolution, and scientists promise us with the greatest confidence the continuance of this trend." He assumes that we can readily utilize the increased volume of savings resulting from a rising national income if we facilitate the operation of a "progressive economy"; if we promote, rather than impede, the necessary "structural readjustments" which must go on continuously in a dynamic economic world.

The danger which concerns him is lest modern-day overemphasis on the value of security (born of the depression years) may result in impeding desirable and necessary change, i.e., shifts of labor and capital to new fields. He favors social security only if it is recognized as merely "an endeavor to soften the impact of change for those upon whom otherwise it might fall unfairly with devastating effect." If security involves making each individual secure *in the job he holds*, efforts to attain it would be disastrous.

A progressive economy being his primary aim, he examines "barriers to progress" and finds them chiefly in "monopolistic restrictions on production" by capitalists, professional men, or labor. Social insurance is useful as a device for redistributing income to prevent undue hardship from the disappearance of certain jobs as a result of economic change. It should thus operate to lessen immobility of labor. More important to Fisher is a program to clear away obstructions at the "growing points of our economy," including the possibility of provision by the state of capital or even entrepreneurship in

new lines (among which he suggests improved housing). Further, he regards it as vital that the businessman should not be discouraged from undertaking new and therefore more speculative activities. Tax policy should be carefully examined from this point of view to insure the possibility of a higher yield for risk capital than for "gilt-edge" securities. "Little progress has been made," he declares, "in applying a satisfactory principle for discrimination in income tax assessment in favor of the risk taker, the man who is prepared to perform the exploratory functions needed by a growing economy at its growing points." Most important perhaps in Fisher's mind is the prevention of monopoly resistance to structural change. He discusses the existing framework of laws and institutions and suggests that laws dealing with holding companies and patent rights, for example, are in need of revision. Here his program is more novel in England than in the United States, where the doubt is rather as to the economic and political possibility of making it effective.

When he comes to the question of "planning," Fisher takes a rather conservative position, even quoting Hayek several times with approval. Still, an open-minded reader will admit that he raises some fundamental questions which the "planners" find difficulty in answering. He suggests that (in peacetime) it is infinitely easier to tell producers what they must not do than to instruct them as to what they should do. He concludes:

If we are to have either higher standards of living or greater economic security the first essential is more enterprise. In sectors where the State seems likely to be enterprising, the case for state action is strong; elsewhere its more important function is to create conditions favorable to its enterprising citizens and unfavorable to those who wish to check enterprise. A realistic programme must provide for both these requirements.

Finally, Fisher discusses international economic adjustments. In a remarkably nontechnical manner he analyzes the interwar period and points out the evil results of the policies by which each country tried to aid itself at the expense of other countries. The United States, which combined an attempt to collect reparations with the Hawley-Smoot Tariff; Britain with sterling depreciation and Empire Preference; and Germany with "Schachtianism" and the attempt to achieve autarchy are all condemned. For the future he urges avoidance of the mistakes of the interwar period, analyzes the

particular problems confronting Great Britain, the United States, and also the vanquished countries. He pleads for the freest international trade possible as the long-run program which, by permitting international economic adjustments, will make possible a world-wide raising of standards of living.

The hard fact is [he concludes] that we live in a world where in part at least our fate depends inexorably on what other people do. Unless we are willing in preparing our own policies to take into account their reactions upon other economies, other economies will be equally unmindful of the reactions of their policies upon us, and the last state of all is likely to be a good deal worse than the first.

ELIZABETH BRANDEIS

University of Wisconsin

Nationalities and National Minorities (with Special Reference to East-Central Europe). By OSCAR I. JANOWSKY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1945. Pp. xix+232. \$2.75.

The author of this study has for some years been collecting material about the subject of national minorities, with a comprehensive, well-documented volume in mind. In the meantime, because he fears that the statesmen of the United Nations, preoccupied with many problems, may more or less disregard national minorities, he decided to publish a briefer, simpler account of the more important aspects of the question, hoping thereby to make public opinion alive to the consequences of human oppression and national strife.

The book is almost exclusively concerned with the national minorities of east-central Europe. In 1939, of the approximately one hundred million people in that area, more than twenty million were still classified as minorities. Every political or historical unit in that entire region, stretching from the Baltic to the Aegean and from the Soviet borders to Germany and Italy, lacks what Dr. Janowsky terms "national cultural uniformity." "Everywhere the population is mixed in language, composite in culture, heterogeneous in national consciousness." He reminds us that the two World Wars were precipitated by hatreds generated in nationality conflicts in east-central Europe: "first in 1914 a few pistol shots fired by a fanatical youth in distant Sarajevo set Europe ablaze, while the truculence of Germans in Sudetenland provided Hitler with the excuse for the dismemberment

of Czechoslovakia, which in turn led inexorably to the Second World War."

Dr. Janowsky outlines a course of action which in his opinion will help eliminate causes for strife. He advocates what he, or rather Professor James T. Shotwell, has termed "national federalism." Briefly this means the right of national minorities to retain their diverse languages and to cherish their diverse traditions and customs within a framework of political and economic unity. It is too late, he declares, to reconstruct east-central Europe along the lines of the national states of the west, where relative homogeneity was achieved before the nineteenth century. "The national minorities are no longer pliant and assimilable. Each is more or less conscious of its national individuality and determined to retain its identity as a people." In view of the fact that practically every area which might be designated as a geographic, economic, or historical unit comprises several peoples, it is obvious that no solution can be obtained along that line by peaceful means.

Nor should the national minorities of east-central Europe be set up as separate states. To do this would, Dr. Janowsky says, mean general impoverishment and international strife. After the first World War, attention was centered upon the principle of nationality as the foundation of the territorial settlement, and the values of economic unity were sacrificed. "As a result," he declares, "poverty and insecurity stalked through east-central Europe, ignoring boundaries and intensifying national hatreds and strife." He warns, however, that the present trend seems to be to reverse the process, stressing economic security to the detriment of nationality. Furthermore, because of the composite character of the population, national minorities remained in every one of the new or enlarged states established in east-central Europe after World War I. In Poland, for instance, the census of 1930 showed that national minorities constituted 31 per cent of the population; in Rumania the corresponding percentage was 28 and in Latvia, 26.

Dr. Janowsky discusses some of the methods that in the past have been used to produce uniformity and cultural homogeneity and rejects them, at least so far as east-central Europe is concerned. Various countries in that area have tried to "assimilate" their national minorities; it has usually been done by ruthless and brutal suppression of national and cultural differences, by "Prussianization" or "Russification" or

"Magyarization." The American experience in this field cannot be cited as an example. The immigrant comes to the United States as an individual, uprooted from his native surroundings and eager to find his place in a new land of opportunity and to identify himself with the dominant group. In east-central Europe assimilation of groups as groups is in question, not the assimilation of individuals. These groups have been conquered and annexed; but, as Dr. Janowsky points out, this has merely "stimulated national consciousness, aroused a more passionate desire to maintain intact the cultural heritage, and welded most members of the minority groups into sullen and tenacious national units."

Transfer of populations Dr. Janowsky also rejects as a solution for minority problems. He believes exchange of minorities may be possible in special areas and on a small scale; "for example, where farming communities live interspersed on the frontier, adequate international supervision should find it possible to disentangle a mixed population with a minimum of suffering." Large scale transfers are another matter. The exchanges of minorities between Greece and Turkey and between Greece and Bulgaria in 1920 have been held to be examples of successful operations of that sort; but Dr. Janowsky points out that, according to Stephen P. Ladas who made an extensive study of the subject some years ago, the loss of property and even of lives involved in those exchanges was very great. As another "unbiased student" has said, "the transfer of population was a remedy so drastic when attempted in the Near East that one shudders at the thought of its application to European peoples so much more firmly rooted."

With regard to "national federalism" we are told that "the solution of the problem of minorities must be sought not in centralized uniformity but in the decentralization of the cultural functions of government and in national federalism."

After World War I it was recognized that the rights of minority groups must be guaranteed and that there must be supervision to insure that the guaranties were enforced. Accordingly, treaties protecting minorities were concluded with practically all the new and enlarged states that came into being after that war. Supervision was vested in the League of Nations; but, for a number of reasons which Dr. Janowsky discusses in some detail, the machinery set up for this purpose did not prove adequate. Some form

of supervision and protection is, however, necessary, and Dr. Janowsky proposes that the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights undertake the responsibility. He specifies that the center of enforcement be located in east-central Europe itself, near the danger spots.

National federalism, Dr. Janowsky points out, is not something new and untried. Switzerland is a classic example of the successful operation of national federalism, and so are South Africa and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They present proof that linguistic and cultural diversity need raise no insuperable barriers to political unity. A chapter of the book is devoted to the discussion of the situation in each of the countries in question, with an especially interesting chapter on Russia. Thus he points out that attempts at Russification under the Czarist regime, in spite of the ruthlessness with which they were carried out, proved a failure; when the Bolsheviks took over, there were still within the borders of Russia "182 distinct nationalities or fragments of nationalities, speaking 149 different languages." The author gives Stalin equal credit with Lenin for the Soviet policy of respecting the linguistic and cultural differences of these minorities. One might think, he says, that the division of the Soviet Union into national fragments and the multiplicity of languages would result in chaos and confusion. On the contrary, the Soviet Union "gives every appearance of order, unity and national harmony"; but, he adds, "allowances must be made for the rigorous discipline of dictatorship, the steel ring of the Communist Party and the cohesive power of monolithic ideology." Yet he finds it difficult to believe that repression and propaganda could alone produce the broad base of contentment which seems to prevail in the land of the Soviets. "One is forced to the conclusion that measures taken to solve the national problem have exerted a profound and pacifying influence upon the composite population of the Union."

In view of the fact that the influence of the Soviet Union will undoubtedly be paramount in east-central Europe, this chapter of Dr. Janowsky's book is especially valuable. As Professor Shotwell points out in the Foreword, the chief interest of the book for many people is likely to lie in this analysis.

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

Common Council for American Unity
New York

The Development of the Soviet Economic System.

By ALEXANDER BAYKOV. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. Pp. xv+514. \$6.50.

We no longer talk about "the Russian miracle" of the war years, and many of us have forgotten the previous Russian miracle—the conversion, within the short period of a quarter of a century, of a backward, illiterate, inefficient, predominantly agricultural empire into a highly industrialized country capable of remarkable achievements in the sciences of physics, chemistry, medicine, and mathematics. Kremlin diplomacy has recently irritated and angered Western statesmanship, and a reckless and irresponsible press is apparently ready to fight Russia.

But the fact remains that Russia has performed miracles in war and in peace, and we should study her policies and measures since the two world-shaking revolutions of 1917 in a scientific and reasonably objective spirit. We have very serious economic and social problems of our own, and perhaps Russia has some valuable lessons even for us.

The present volume is the work of a professor and a native of Russia who has no ax to grind, no preconceived view to uphold, no party line to defend. He approaches his complex subject historically. He discusses Russian events and problems not in isolation but in association with the general development of the entire national economy of Russia. He has had access to abundant material and uses it in a scholarly way. He is very cautious in reaching definite conclusions, and the few he ventures to offer are hardly debatable—they are, indeed, dictated by the relevant facts and figures marshaled by the author.

Here are the principal questions asked and patiently answered in the book: What are the aims of the leaders and architects of the soviet-socialist system? What were the conditions they had to work under immediately after their military success, what difficulties faced them, what handicaps? What measures were taken, what changes forced upon them by psychological or material factors, and what part has "planning" played in this operation and its accomplishments?

The author has to cover not industry and agriculture merely but also fiscal policy, budget-making, taxation, incentives, management, discipline in the factories and offices, bureaucracy vs. initiative and ability, and a hundred other topics and subtopics.

What he has to say about the results in the

several fields, the degree of actual socialization realized, the substitutes for the profit motives introduced, the functions and power of the trade unions, and many other matters that confront the Russian government and its economic advisers, cannot be summarized here. They cannot fail to interest our teachers and students of economic problems.

However, space must be given to two very significant remarks of the author in his elaborate chapter on "Industry":

The experience of the U.S.S.R. proves convincingly that methods for stimulating creative initiative can be devised under the planned system of industrial organization, and that it does not "dry up" as a result of nationalization of the means of production.

It is equally difficult to agree with the view that private enterprise, activated by the profit-motive and regulated by the price factor, is best suited to direct the country's capital investment and to distribute its productive resources so as to meet the population's needs.

These conclusions will be deemed heretical and dangerous by the American conservatives and the congressional committee on un-American activities. But Professor Baykov has written for reasonably open-minded and fair-minded persons, and these will not criticize him for his honest admissions.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

The Selected Work of Tom Paine Set in the Framework of His Life. Edited by HOWARD FAST. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1945. Pp. xiii+338. \$3.50.

Tom Paine: America's Godfather. By W. E. WOODWARD. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. 359. \$3.50.

Howard Fast, the well-known author of several popular historical novels, including the easy-to-read story *Citizen Tom Paine*, has again helped to restore the good name of Thomas Paine by making available in one relatively small volume the great pamphlets *Common Sense*, *The Crisis Papers*, *The Rights of Man*, and *The Age of Reason*. This volume should not, of course, be compared with the earlier complete works of Moncure Conway or the recent Foner volumes. But here are the great Paine classics available for many readers who would not use

the larger works. Here are the well-remembered phrases from *Common Sense* which our revolutionary soldiers read aloud:

The Sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, a County, a Province, or a Kingdom; but of a Continent—of at least one-eighth part of the habitable Globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed-time of union, faith and honour.

Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. . . . Europe regards her like a stranger. . . . O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society.

And from *The Crisis Papers*:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny . . . is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.

They sift out the hidden thoughts of man, and hold them up in public to the world.

'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct will pursue his principles unto death.

And the student of social welfare history will be interested to find Thomas Paine, the Quaker from a humble English home, a social as well as a political reformer. In England at the close of the eighteenth century, he saw "age going to the workhouse and youth to the gallows" and hidden from public view "a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance than to expire in poverty or infamy." "Hunger is not among the postponable wants, and a day, even a few hours in such a condition is often the crisis of a life of ruin." "It is the nature of compassion to associate with misery," he said. "Fortified with that proud integrity that disdains to triumph or to yield, I will advocate the Rights of Man."

In *The Rights of Man* he really wanted a 'cradle to the grave' scheme, and here are

early proposals for policies like maternity benefits, marriage benefits, funeral expenses for persons traveling for work and dying at a distance from their friends, children's allowances, public education, old age pensions, and "not of the nature of a charity but of a right." He wanted employment to be available for "all who shall come, without inquiring who or what they are. The only condition to be, that for so much or so many hours work, each person shall receive so many meals of wholesome food and a warm lodging, at least as good as a barrack."

The benefits he proposed would, he believed, mean that "the poor laws, those instruments of civil torture, will be superseded, and the wasteful expense of litigation prevented." He hoped for a time when "the hearts of the humane will not be shocked by ragged and hungry children, and persons of seventy or eighty years of age, begging for bread." He thought widows should have "a maintenance for their children," and children should "no longer be considered as increasing the distresses of their parents." "The poor, as well as the rich, will then be interested in the support of Government, and the cause and apprehension of riots and tumults will cease."

Lafayette once said to him, "Friend Paine, I think that you and I both were born too soon—and that we will have to pay for it." Certainly Paine was more than a hundred years too soon with many of his social reform proposals. He was a restless idealist with "the glow of hope, courage and fortitude" whose message to his own country, to America, and to France stirred not only the hearts but the minds of men. "Where Liberty is not, there is my country," he wrote. When "freedom was on trial," he heard a call to arms. Time and the great social forces of the future finally proved that many of his proposed reforms were wise, necessary, and entirely practicable. Fortunately, Thomas Paine was not afraid to walk alone.

The Woodward volume is, as the title indicates, a popular interesting life of Thomas Paine. A book for the general reader, it should be useful in bringing back to a large number of readers the great contribution of Thomas Paine not only to American independence but to that greater cause, the "rights of man." It is well to be reminded of the great debt that freedom owes to Thomas Paine.

E. A.

BRIEF NOTICES

Group Health Insurance and Sickness Benefit Plans in Collective Bargaining. By HELEN BAKER and DOROTHY DAHL. (Industrial Relations Section, Department of Economics and Social Institutions, Princeton University, Research Report Ser., No. 72.) Princeton, N.J., 1945. Pp. 89. \$1.50.

The number of group accident and health certificates in the United States and Canada increased from 2,600,000 in 1938 to 6,500,000 in 1943. This increase in health-insurance coverage was in part a product of collective bargaining with the benefit plans incorporated in labor agreements. Some of the plans were developed by national or international unions, others by local unions or area councils with or without the assistance of the national. In some cases existing company sick-benefit and group-insurance plans were incorporated in the collective bargaining agreements, and in others such programs were set up for the first time.

This new development in trade-unionism was stimulated by the wartime wage-stabilization program. From the standpoint of the union leaders group health insurance represented a gain that might be secured when wage increases were impossible and to employers a cost that would be largely balanced by tax reductions.

This Princeton University study is an analysis of 44 sickness-benefit plans that were established through agreement with employer associations and of 230 that were part of agreements with individual companies. Reviewed also are the early experiments of unions with this beneficial activity. The study was restricted to "programs which provide, as a central core, weekly cash benefits for temporary disability." The cash benefit was the type of health-insurance protection sought by the majority of unions, along with the payment of full cost by the employer and with administration by the union. The major policy questions, problems, and difficulties incident to the programs analyzed are at least suggested in this report with more adequate discussion of some issues than others. Those who are promoting the establishment of a public health-insurance system as well as those who, in lieu thereof, are attempting to extend group plans through collective bargaining will find it of great value.

HAZEL KYRK

Social Security and Related Services in Michigan: Their Administration and Financing. By CLAUDE R. THARP. (Michigan Government Studies No. 16.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1946. Pp. 180. \$0.75.

This report is a brief description of the social security programs operating in Michigan, and any references to either financing or administration are

purely incidental. The promise set forth in the Introduction and implied in the title leaves the reviewer somewhat disappointed. The stated purpose of this study was "to give a brief description of methods of administering and financing the social security and related services carried on in Michigan by federal, state and local agencies."

The social security services are described in four chapters under the following headings: "Public Assistance"; "Welfare Services for Children and Handicapped Persons"; "Health and Medical Services"; and "Social Insurance." The fifth chapter, entitled "Summary and Conclusion," would perhaps be more accurately called "Summary."

The best part of the report is the chapter on "Social Insurance," in which the author describes in succession workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, Railroad Unemployment Compensation, Old Age and Survivors Insurance, and Railroad Insurance as they operate in Michigan. The description of the latter three programs, all administered by the federal government, is general in character and contains some data that orient them to the setting in Michigan.

There is a simple exposition of the several programs, with little analysis or evaluation of them individually or as a group. Unemployment compensation and Old Age and Survivors Insurance are compared with their counterparts in Railroad Insurance, but one could wish for a broader and more thoroughgoing comparison of the objectives, methods, and achievements of all the programs described, with some conclusion about gaps, trends, and desired extensions.

ALTON A. LINFORD

The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society. By LEO W. SIMMONS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. 317. \$4.00.

As stated in the preface, "This is a report on the status and treatment of the aged within a world-wide selection of primitive societies." It seeks to find the ways by which the aged have achieved positions of security and prestige, what factors have influenced this both physically and socially, and whether any uniformities or generalizations can be noted through a broad cross-cultural analysis. As a research process it purports to represent only a more reliable approximation to an objective analysis than earlier or less well-controlled procedures have achieved.

The peoples and cultures selected present a wide range of variables from the personal to the more complex social and economic forces. As a result it is interesting to note that even so the main problems remain the same and that, by and large, there is little disparity in what can be done to safeguard the

interests of the aged. This may or may not be of any real significance in relation to old age security today.

The fact that the number of aged in primitive society is low is a well-known consequence of the social and economic pressures of primitive society. Assurance of food, prestige, and property rights are among the factors important to the aged. This report draws certain generalizations on the degree to which these have been achieved, and it shows further what has been contributed to the achievement or worked against it. In this relation the effect of political and civil activities, the use of knowledge, magic, and religion, and the customs and traditions of families and group life are observed.

In the final analysis we can conclude at least that the fate of the aged, as of other age groups, has been and is decided by the mores of the society in which he lives and the time and place of that social organization.

CATHERINE M. DUNN

The Price of Peace. By SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE.
New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1946. Pp. 160.
\$2.00.

In the famous Beveridge Report the author, now Lord Beveridge, dealt with social insurance and the larger problem of social security; in his later *Full Employment in a Free Society* he examined the problem of creating work for all. Now in *The Price of Peace* he turns to the great problem of international security so that peace shall be lasting, and the author points out that the problem dealt with in this latest volume is not merely "similar for Britain, for the United States, and for other countries. It is one and the same problem for all countries in the world. It cannot be solved for any one country for itself. It must be attacked by all or many countries together."

This third volume in what is regarded as a wartime trilogy argues: First, that war today is utterly different from war in the past, both in its methods while war is continuing and in its results in impoverishing whole nations after the war has been won; second, that the fundamental cause of war is fear of war; third, that the indispensable condition for prevention of war is to establish the rule of law among nations, with force to back it. The author argues that the law must rest on impartial arbitration and that the force can only come from the strong nations, with the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Soviet Russia making their contribution to international security by deciding to use their power not for narrow advantage but for the common good of world order. For "the repeated experience of world war has shown that to be self-regarding in international affairs is the primrose path to mutual destruction, for the strong, for the weak, for the rich, and for the poor alike." In the Preface to the American edition the author says that "the lesson of two total wars is that purely self-

regarding policies in international affairs lead only to mutual self-destruction, which with each successive total war is likely to be more comprehensive. The alternative to purely self-regarding national policies is morality, for morality means considering the rights of other people as well as of oneself. The establishment of morality in international affairs is the essential condition of any hope of peace and order and civilization in the world."

This volume was written before the San Francisco Conference, and the author criticized the Security Council of the great powers (suggested at Dumbarton Oaks) because he thought the veto made the great powers judges of themselves. He wanted a system of compulsory arbitration superimposed on the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

Since every thinking person must believe in the need for a lasting peace for all nations, it may be hoped that this last Beveridge volume may be as widely read as the great Beveridge Report. For without peace there can be no "social security."

E. A.

The American: A Middle Western Legend. By HOWARD FAST. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1946. Pp. 327. \$3.00.

Social workers are interested in John Peter Altgeld, a German-born citizen of Illinois, who was governor during the years 1893-97, not only because he appointed Florence Kelley and Julia Lathrop to important positions in the state government—Mrs. Kelley as chief factory inspector and Miss Lathrop as member of the State Board of Charities—but for other reasons as well. This was a time when patronage was a conspicuous feature of public administration, both state and federal; and these positions, that of Mrs. Kelley as chief factory inspector and Miss Lathrop as a member of the State Board of Charities, were important "plums" with which to reward the party workers. But Altgeld looked not for partisan politicians but for competent administrators and supported them in their demands for help in carrying out their programs. Miss Addams refers to him in her *Twenty Years at Hull-House*¹ when she explains that the first new factory legislation in Illinois "was associated in the minds of business men with radicalism, because the law was secured during the term of Governor Altgeld and was first enforced during his administration. While nothing in its genesis or spirit could be further from 'anarchy' than factory legislation . . . the fact that Governor Altgeld pardoned from the state's prison the anarchists who had been sentenced there after the Haymarket riot, gave the opponents of this . . . legislation a quickly utilized opportunity to couple it with that detested word. . . ."

An important biography—*Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld*, by Harry Barnard—was

¹ Pp. 206-7.

commented on in these pages² some years ago, but Mr. Fast finds that the story of Altgeld's life justifies another kind of story. While Altgeld was born in Germany and so had to reject the idea of becoming a candidate for the presidency of the United States, he is by this biographer characterized as "an American." It is a pitiful story of hard conditions surrounding his childhood, of cruel struggle against privation and limited educational opportunity, but of fundamental self-confidence and true democratic purpose.

S. P. B.

American Government and Politics. By CHARLES A. BEARD. 9th ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1944. Pp. viii+872. \$4.00.

This new edition of a standard text has been prepared with the assistance of William Beard, the author's son, who is assistant professor of political science in the University of Wisconsin, and of Wilfred E. Binkley, professor of political science in Ohio Northern University.

Many pages in the last edition have been revised, and a new chapter has been added dealing with "The Quest for Efficiency and Responsibility in Government." This new chapter is important because of the authoritative statement from Charles A. Beard regarding the "almost revolutionary increase in the power of the Executive." Besides augmenting the President's power through its display of negative qualities, Congress has enlarged it deliberately by enacting numerous blanket bills conferring upon the President all the powers applicable to particular contingencies and permitting him in effect to do the legislating himself." There is much to consider seriously in this new chapter.

The author explains in his new Preface that two considerations have been in his mind in preparing this revision: (1) that "changes in the organization and functions of government" seemed to be "taking place rapidly, daily, almost hourly" under the stress of war, and, for that reason, "minute descriptions of them are therefore likely to be made absolute at any moment"; (2) that "grave questions as to the tendencies and future of constitutional government" have arisen by "recent developments in the theory and practice of government, particularly of the federal government." The author has, therefore, wisely eliminated "innumerable details which are certain to be outmoded in a few weeks or months." Instead, principles and trends have been emphasized.

The Beard concern with the latest details of government has been rather "with powers and functions" than with the names and places of the agencies involved. For example, whether the federal agency in charge of educational activities is called an "office" or a "bureau" or is in the Department of the Interior or the Federal Security Agency, "may justly be deemed a minor matter as compared with

² See this *Review*, XII (1938), 719-20.

the nature of the educational responsibilities assumed by the Federal Government. Again, for the citizen in search of understanding, it is more important to know about the powers and obligations of the State Department than the rearrangement of divisions within the Department effected by the Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944."

E. A.

Government and Labor in Early America. By RICHARD B. MORRIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xvi+557. \$6.75.

This is an important work which discusses the legal and social status of free and bound labor in Colonial days, with adequate reference to regional differences and the various kinds of governmental authority. Such subjects as maritime labor, armed services, public services, and other subdivisions are examined.

Of current interest is the last chapter, in which the author raises certain questions regarding "labor problems in the light of early American experience." This chapter presents a brief review of such subjects as the system of redemptioners and indentured servants, apprenticeship, binding out of the pauper "child" orphan by the colonial authorities, employment of women and children, and the colonial labor program, absenteeism, questions of the recovery of damages for injuries in the course of employment, the obligation of "masters" to provide medical assistance for bound servants who fall ill during their employment, specific performance of the labor contract, combinations of laborers, and other interesting subjects.

Race and Nation in the United States: A Historical Sketch of the Intermingling of the Peoples in the Making of the American Nation. By E. A. BENIANS. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. Pp. 48. \$0.75.

This small volume contains a single lecture by the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, which was delivered before the students of Bedford College, London, and "a little enlarged for publication." While an American student of immigration would not accept many of the facts or the author's point of view, it is always encouraging to have an English scholar show an interest in our history.

E. A.

Introduction to Social Science: A Survey of Social Problems. By GEORGE C. ATTEBERRY, JOHN L. AUBLE, and ELGIN F. HUNT. Abridged one-volume edition. New York: Macmillan Co., 1945. Pp. xii+787. \$4.00.

This is an abridged one-volume edition of a two-volume work which was first published in 1941. Originally intended to provide an introduction to

social science for the junior colleges of the city of Chicago, it has been found a useful text in other parts of the country.

In condensing the larger work, the authors decided to select the sections most indispensable for students instead of covering less intensively the entire content of the earlier edition. Their object is to give students an understanding of the social world in which they live, and the subjects selected for the abridgment are those which are believed to have "a peculiar relevance to our time." In their new preface the authors express the hope that the new edition will serve "both as a textbook in the schools and colleges and as a guide to the intelligent and interested citizenry" and that it will be helpful "for the transition from war to peace and in the building of a better America and a better world."

The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897.

By FRED A. SHANNON. ("The Economic History of the United States," Vol. V.) New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945. Pp. xii+434. Text ed., \$3.75; trade ed., \$5.00.

The statement in the editorial "Foreword" that Professor Shannon "offers in a single book the most comprehensive account available of agricultural developments" from the outbreak of the Civil War to the close of the nineteenth century is probably correct. As the title suggests, his volume stresses the rounding out of the agricultural domain and the effect of this process, not only upon the farmers in the new frontier areas and upon agriculture elsewhere in the country, but also upon the whole economy of the country. More than other studies of agricultural history this volume deals with soils, climate, and other natural forces, and land, in an able scholarly narrative in which important questions relating to transportation, markets, credit, and finance are discussed.

The author explains that he has "not written a history of the technical advances in agriculture, although such a work for the years since 1860 is badly needed." What he has tried to do is "to picture the farmer himself as he affected and was influenced by the world in which he worked and lived."

There is an excellent chapter on the disposition of the public domain, and the subjects of land and labor in the New South are not overlooked. But the most important chapters are those dealing with western lands and western problems. The range cattle business of the great plains and the conditions of prairie agriculture and the prairie farmer are especially important. There are also useful chapters on "Governmental Activity in Agriculture" and on "The Agrarian Uprising."

This volume is an important addition to the series dealing with the economic history of the United States.

Good Food and Nutrition for Young People and Their Families. By EDNA P. AMIDON, DOROTHY E. BRADBURY, and VIVIAN V. DRENCKHAHN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1946. Pp. xviii+323. \$1.96.

This small volume, popularly written and illustrated "for young people and their families" is primarily for "real people meeting real food problems." It attempts to explain how the principles of good nutrition may help to promote the eating of proper food and how these principles affect the practices of marketing, of planning meals, of cooking, gardening, and the preserving of foods. The authors believe that even when people understand what they should eat, they often fail to get the proper food—chiefly because they do not apply what they know to their own lives. It is explained that no attempt is made here to present "a collection of data or a detailed report of the outcome of research projects."

The book, written clearly to interest young people, hopes to lead them "to a better understanding of good nutrition for everyone in the world." There is a special "preface for teachers" showing how, under wise guidance, young people may be helped "to discover their own food difficulties." Young people must be helped to know that food is a personal problem and as well a social and economic problem which "affects our homes, our communities, and our country."

There are some carefully selected references for further reading.

This little book should be useful to social workers who are concerned with the food habits of their families and who wish to help them to understand "good food and nutrition."

Aspects of Army Depot Administration: Papers on Administration at the Kansas City Quartermaster Depot Army Service Forces. By SCHUYLER DEAN HOSLETT. New York: American Historical Co., Inc., 1945. Pp. ix+87. \$2.00.

Some practical problems of management, illustrated at the Kansas City Quartermaster Depot, are dealt with in this volume. Social workers will be chiefly interested in some of the human problems of administration common to military organizations employing large numbers of civilians and in some of the difficulties encountered in putting a specific program into effect. The author suggests that "too often writers in the field only describe programs that presumably were entirely successful," and he believes that it is "just as important to point out pitfalls and mistakes which may help to guide others."

The second part of the book deals with "Personnel Administration," including such subjects as placement aids to supervision, employee training, executive orientation, counseling, and research.

The author effectively combines practical experience with theoretical study to present his material.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The Commission for Handicapped Children Reports to the People of Illinois, June, 1941—June, 1946. ILLINOIS COMMISSION FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN. Springfield, Ill., 1946. Pp. 24.

This attractive little pamphlet, which is designed for the use of the general public, discusses in a simple, readable style the activities and accomplishments of the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children during its first five years of existence. The commission, an official state agency, is an over-all co-ordinating, stimulating, promoting, and informational organization charged with the responsibility for developing a program which will more adequately meet the total welfare of exceptional children.

In presenting its report to the people of Illinois, the commission uses as a framework the seven duties specifically assigned to it by law, mentioning achievements in each area. Since its establishment in 1941 the commission has been instrumental in bringing before the legislature a number of bills which have resulted in improved services and new facilities for handicapped children. Among these have been laws which have greatly strengthened provisions for the education in the local public schools of all types of handicapped children, not just the orthopedically handicapped, and for mentally retarded children; and a law which created a hospital school for severely physically handicapped children who at the same time are mentally educable. The commission has also sponsored three very successful conferences on exceptional children; has published a number of research reports pertaining to several types of handicapped children, pointing out unmet needs; and is at present co-operating with the University of Illinois in making a survey to determine the adequacy of vocational services, particularly with regard to handicapped children.

The commission views its role as one which should change with every improvement in the condition of handicapped children that is effected but does not intend to relax its efforts until "no child in the state, whatever his handicap,

is denied any opportunity which a democratic society can give him."

MARY ZAHROBSKY

University of Chicago

Maternity Homes for Unmarried Mothers: A Community Service. By MAUD MORLOCK and HILARY CAMPBELL. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 309.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946. Pp. 94. \$0.20.

Although this report may not be complete in its coverage, it fills a long-felt need and it may help to open the eyes of some of the more reactionary board and staff members of the less progressive representatives of such homes.

It is unfortunate that the many homes in the Middle West conducted under the auspices of the Lutheran group have been ignored completely in the historical material and that no mention whatsoever has been made of the commercial maternity homes, which all too often attract girls of a high cultural level from great distances at a cost for care that far exceeds that of the more approved homes.

The reviewer regrets that we were given no indication as to the extent to which maternity homes have equipped themselves with case-work service either from a member of their own staff or from an outside community source. The discussion of that all-important decision "to keep or to relinquish the child" is very helpful, and the importance of a decision that will promise the most satisfactory future for each individual mother and child has been carefully explored. But the high point of the publication is found in section 3, "New Interests through Group Activities." This should stimulate the imagination of any and all persons responsible for the direction of a maternity home. Section 4, with its discussion of "Health and Medical Services," is also helpful and stimulating.

Except for the "standards of care" prepared and published by some of the state departments

of health and/or welfare this publication is the first the reviewer has seen written especially for the maternity home group. Our thanks are therefore due to the authors and to the Children's Bureau for making it available.

MARY RUTH COLBY

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Commission for Aid to Dependent Children and State Board of Welfare of Delaware, Joint Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945. Wilmington, 1946. Pp. 34.

Delaware has now placed in one agency the responsibility for services to children in need of care and protection and for services to financially needy children. The merger of the Commission for Aid to Dependent Children and of the Delaware Board of Welfare brought to a close the separate operation of two agencies, each interested in the welfare of children. The board now has an unequalled opportunity to develop a comprehensive children's program.

This last report of the two agencies as separate bodies briefly reviews their separate histories from 1917 to July 1, 1945, the effective date of consolidation. The Board of Welfare was established in 1919 as the instrument of the state in welfare activities. The commission was created in 1917, charged with the responsibility of providing state aid to needy mothers of minor children. Each agency has grown with the years. At the time of the combination the board had under its care some 434 children, most of whom were in homes other than their own, and it received an additional 800 children receiving assistance in their own homes.

The next report will probably tell us more about the objectives of the unified program and the methods of operation that are proving most effective. The board hopes to proceed on a sound and constructive basis and makes an earnest little plea to its friends and well-wishers not to expect too much too soon, for it is still handicapped by the lack of funds and of trained personnel.

CAROL K. GOLDSTEIN

*Illinois Public Aid Commission
Chicago*

Hostels for "Difficult" Children: A Survey of Experience under the Evacuation Scheme. MINISTRY OF HEALTH. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1944. Pp. 23. 6d.

This survey was based on information about some hostels for difficult evacuated children, collected by the Ministry of Health in July, 1943, with the help of the Local Authorities responsible for the administration of the hostels. The report was written before the end of the war when the hostels were still being maintained.

When the evacuation of children from London was first being planned in September, 1939, and arrangements were being made to billet the children to "safe" areas, it was realized that a small proportion of the children would be "unbilleteable"—because their "care and supervision would place an undue burden on the ordinary householder." This report deals with forty-eight hostels: nineteen for boys, five for girls, and twenty-four mixed. In size they varied, with most of them accommodating from twelve to thirty children. The purpose was "to fit children who had school behavior difficulties for life in an ordinary community." The report is "not concerned with methods of child guidance treatment but only with the environment which the hostel provided in the place of a child's own home." Subjects dealt with include hostel organization—the grouping of children, staff, selection and admission of children, educational arrangements, occupations and activities household tasks, meals, pocket money, records, arrangements for discharge and rebilleting, and a brief section on "child guidance treatment." With regard to the latter, in four hostels, treatment was given on the premises by a visiting psychiatric team for the most seriously mal-adjusted children weekly or less often, as was necessary. Usually every child in these hostels was examined, and those not recommended for treatment could be kept under observation and the hostel staff specially advised. Eight hostels worked closely with a child guidance clinic which was near and accessible and could be attended by any child for whom treatment was recommended. In four of these, every child could be examined at the clinic, either before or after admission. In most of these hostels a psychiatric social worker attached to the clinic visited the hostel regularly to discuss the progress of individual children with the warden or matron. Sixteen hostels had access to a psychiatrist for diagnosis and advice. There was no clinic easily accessible to these hostels, but treatment could be arranged if specially recommended. Two of these hostels were regularly visited by a psychiatric social worker. In four

hostels examination and advice by a psychologist was available for every child. Each of these hostels was visited by a psychiatric social worker about once a week. Seven hostels had no facilities for psychiatric treatment but were visited regularly by a psychiatric social worker. One hostel was regularly visited by a psychologist. Eight hostels had no facilities for specialized treatment or advice. A child on one of these hostels who appeared to be in need of special examination or treatment could usually be transferred to another hostel.

Some typical examples of the children and their problems are given with some statistics on the various types of problems found among boys and girls. There is a brief section on "standard of intelligence," but intelligence tests were given to only about half of the children in the hostels.

As to age, there were 41 children under six years, 120 in the age group six to nine, 220 in the group aged nine to twelve, 106 in the age group twelve to fourteen, and 9 aged fourteen or over.

The report shows the great effort made in England to protect the children in a time of great national emergency.

Better Health for Rural America: Plans of Action for Farm Communities. United States Department of Agriculture Interbureau Committee on Post-war Programs. Washington, D.C., October, 1945. Pp. ii+34.

This is a valuable and timely document written in simple style for the use of rural community groups interested in planning for better rural health. The committee which produced the report was made up of representatives from various bureaus of the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Public Health Service, the United States Children's Bureau, and the Social Security Board.

The report contains a factual review of the burden of illness and death in the rural community and points up the need for more doctors, dentists, and other personnel; the need for more health facilities and for better sanitation; and the need for more organized health services. These problems are discussed in relation to problems of geography, economics, and rural attitudes.

A description of what has been accomplished to date in improving rural health services is followed by a presentation of what

remains to be done. Helpful suggestions are made for attacking the problem through the methods of community organization and joint community action. Emphasis is placed on the need for co-operation among health, welfare, and educational agencies, as well as on the need for federal, state, and local planning and support.

The facts contained in the document are not new, but material from a variety of sources is assembled here in useful fashion and is directed toward a program of action in dealing with one of our most serious rural problems.

GRACE BROWNING

Indiana University

The Administration of Old Age Assistance in New Jersey: Two Year Report, July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1945, of the Division of Old Age Assistance, Department of Institutions and Agencies. Trenton, N.J., 1946. Pp. 30.

New Jersey has had old age assistance legislation since 1932—antedating the federal Social Security Act by three years. The *Two Year Report* of the Director of Old Age Assistance summarizes the experiences of the entire period and traces the development from a highly restrictive "old age relief service" to a liberal, effective old age assistance program. The major liberalizing change came in 1936, following the passage of the federal Social Security Act. More recent legislation has gone beyond the provisions of the federal act.

The *Report* is a readable, factual statement of the organization of services and the procedures of a state department working through twenty-one county units which share costs. The *Report* is sufficiently detailed to serve as a textbook on state administration of an old age assistance program.

New Jersey's experience has been much like that of other states, with its recognition of the right of the aged individual to live his own life; its acceptance of budgetary principles as a basis for assistance grants; its steady increase in average recipient grants; its development of medical services for its clients; its attempts to provide nursing homes and institutional care for the aging, chronically ill group; and its realization that the county welfare boards, whose primary function is the administration of public assistance, are looked to for leadership in gen-

eral family welfare problems and in the development of community welfare resources.

JOSEPH L. MOSS

Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare

Cook County, Illinois, Board of Commissioners, Annual Message of Clayton F. Smith, President. Chicago, 1946. Pp. 194.

This *Report* is largely devoted to the important social welfare work maintained by Cook County, Illinois. Included here are reports of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, the Juvenile Court, Juvenile Detention Home, County Hospital, Oak Forest Institutions, Psychopathic Hospital, Public Defender, and certain facilities for public recreation such as the Forest Preserve District.

The well-known Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, which is a statutory bureau created twenty years ago, is organized with the following divisions:

For purposes of administration the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare is organized into five divisions:

1. Public Assistance Division, whose functions include the administration of Old Age Pensions, Aid to Dependent Children and Blind Assistance. [General relief is administered by the Chicago Welfare Administration and the thirty outlying Cook County townships.]

2. Institutional Service Division, in charge of determining admissions to Cook County Hospital and the Oak Forest Institutions, and making collections for the care and maintenance of persons admitted to those institutions; a summer camp (closed during 1944 and 1945 seasons); and medical service in the homes of indigent persons.

3. Court Service Division, providing social services upon the request of the courts of Cook County, both civil and criminal, in instances involving social, economic and home conditions, and the securing of support for dependent persons from legally liable relatives.

4. Behavior Clinic of the Criminal Court, a diagnostic psychiatric service, organized to serve in an advisory capacity to the Judges of the Criminal Court of Cook County.

5. Public Health Unit, providing a public health program for Cook County outside the three municipalities, Chicago, Evanston, Kenilworth-Winnetka, which have their own public health services. The three activities of the Public Health Unit are medical, engineering and nursing.

Some facts about old age pensioners in Cook County are the following:

The total number of persons receiving pensions last fall was 43,488. Of this number 86.1 per cent had no cash income other than the old age pension; 13.9 per cent had a little income averaging \$11.60 a month; 5.9 per cent received some contributions from relatives averaging \$10.95 a month; 0.9 per cent had earnings which averaged \$10.47 a month; 2.3 per cent were receiving benefits from O.A.S.I., but these benefits were so low (averaging \$16.07 a month) that an old age pension was also necessary. Another 0.3 per cent were receiving allowances and allotments from the armed forces, and 4.5 per cent had income from miscellaneous sources.

In the Juvenile Court report there is a significant statement regarding the large number of families affected by the demobilization of the armed forces:

Fathers and older brothers returning to the homes have much influence on the families we visit. In cases where the father or older brother was the most stable member of the family, his return will mean that the family life may become more normal and possibly the Juvenile Court can, after a period, withdraw its services. Fathers are now returning and arranging for reestablishment of their homes. In cases where the father was a stable, reliable person, this is highly desirable; but there are other cases where the father's record is one of unreliability and it is difficult for the court to decide whether or not the family should be immediately reunited. We are also faced with situations where the father returns from overseas to be confronted with infidelity or general disorganization in his home and he wavers between the desire to keep his children with him or be separated from his wife and have the children placed away from him where they can receive adequate care and guidance. The handling of these problems requires skill in dealing with people. We cannot fail to be cognizant of the sacrifices that the serviceman has made for his country and of the fact that he is entitled to utmost consideration.

Federal Prisons, 1945: A Review of the Work of the Federal Bureau of Prisons during the Year Ended June 30, 1945, Including Statistics of Federal Prisoners and of Federal Parole Selection and Supervision. Leavenworth, Kan.: United States Penitentiary, 1946. Pp. v+81.

This report in a new and attractive format marks the completion of fifteen years of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. By the Act of 1930, Congress established the Bureau so that

an integrated Federal penal and correctional system which will assure the proper classification and segregation of Federal prisoners according to their char-

acter, the nature of the crime they have committed, their mental condition, and such other factors as should be taken into consideration in providing an individualized system of discipline, care and treatment.¹

During this period, there has been developed a group of twenty-eight specialized federal institutions in place of the four more or less independent and greatly overcrowded prisons of the earlier period. "Career personnel" trained for the service has been installed; and a classification system with medical, psychiatric, employment, and treatment procedures looking toward the return of the prisoner to a "self-respecting place in the community" has been established.

Again, as in the last report, special attention is given to the effect of the war on the work of the Bureau. The wartime decline in prison population has come to an end with a 12 per cent increase in 1945 over the preceding year. In answer to the question "How many veterans of World War II are being sent to prison?" we are told that

exclusive of two special groups, violators of the Selective Service Act and those committed by military court-martial, nearly 12 percent of the prisoners committed to Federal institutions during the year were reported to have served in the armed forces during World War II. Of these former service men, 1,238 in all, more than half were reported to have left the service with other than honorable discharges.

An increase in the average sentence of prisoners received is explained as due to a large extent to the 1,825 military prisoners with an average sentence of 173.6 months, a terrible average compared with an average 16.1 months for prisoners from the civil courts. Sixty per cent of the military prisoners had sentences of ten years or more, and 217 had life sentences; and they face also dishonorable discharge from military service. The armed forces committed 1,825 prisoners to federal civil custody in 1945, or nearly double the number committed the preceding year, and at the end of the year military prisoners in federal civil institutions numbered 2,785—Army 2,741 and Navy 44—and constituted 14 per cent of the total sentenced population.

The military prisoners are reported not to have been particularly troublesome or to have presented disciplinary problems. "As a matter of fact, they generally make good institution records." Most of these men were young with a

median age of just under twenty-five years, or approximately five years less than that of the prisoners from civil courts. "Although many were convicted of such offenses as murder, robbery and rape, most of them as civilians had never been in serious trouble. Many are in fact casualties of the war and had they not been subjected to the peculiar stresses of war would have remained respectable law-abiding citizens."

The report notes that "the Secretary of War has been aware of the tendency of courts-martial to mete out long and severe sentences and of the inconsistency which marks the sentencing methods of the military courts." Therefore he established a board to review these sentences, set standards of punishment, and recommend clemency to deserving cases. "Under the wide authority granted him to review the actions of courts-martial, each case is reviewed for clemency within six months following the date of sentence and at least annually."

During the past year the sentences of 181 Army prisoners in federal institutions were reduced—117 to time served. Another 154 prisoners were transferred from federal institutions to Army disciplinary barracks for proposed restoration to duty.² In spite of the very long sentences imposed, the Bureau thinks that Army court-martial sentences actually are "carried out in conformance with the principle, long supported by leading penologists, that penalties imposed for criminal behavior should be adjustable at any time to an offender's individual situation." It is to be hoped that the Bureau is right in thinking that it is "probable that the termination of the war will tend to increase the frequency of War Department clemency actions."

There is no doubt that the director of the Bureau of Prisons, Mr. James V. Bennett, recognizes the special responsibility which the federal prisons have in connection with military prisoners. They are not only charged with the rehabilitation of these offenders—as of other prisoners—but they also have "the responsibility for forming judgments concerning them and for furnishing information to the War Department regarding them which . . . carries great weight with the Department's Advisory Board on Clemency."

² "After the defeat of Japan, clemency action was applied to an increasingly large number of military prisoners; from July through October, 1945, 281 prisoners were authorized for transfer from Federal institutions to Army installations for proposed restoration to duty."

¹ Act approved May 27, 1930.

With regard to Selective Service violators, the Jehovah's Witnesses remained the largest single group of so-called draft violators, 2,724 "Witnesses"—58 per cent of the Selective Service Act prisoners and nearly two hundred more than last year—were still under sentence in federal institutions.

There are unfortunately a large number of Selective Service Act violators still being sent to the federal prisons, although the number is declining—2,477 in 1945 compared with 3,585 the year before. In addition to the "Witnesses" there were 475 other conscientious objectors in federal prisons at the end of the year and 1,504 Selective Service Act violators who "appeared not to be conscientious objectors."

What of the future? The following paragraphs contain the statement of the report on this point:

Our democracy has proved that it is able to raise, train and organize millions of our young men into armies which can overthrow the regimented ranks of dictators and emperors. Free now of the horrors of war, we approach anxiously the task of adjusting these same young men to the responsibilities they will face in maintaining free government as the greatest instrument ever devised for human progress. In the background, however, lies the fear that the displacements, the pent-up bitterness, the racial tensions, and the impairments to human values which accompany war may lead to a "crime wave." There are those, too, who argue that our soldiers, proud of their worth as the defenders of the homeland, bitter toward shirkers and those who enriched themselves in wartime, and inured to the ruthlessness of war, will make short work of the rights and property of others.

Add to these the varying standards of law enforcement and the disparity in efforts to treat and rehabilitate the known criminal and you have all the elements for a serious upsurge in lawlessness. In point of fact, there are disturbing evidences that these conditions are already precipitating into a "crime wave" which is something more than a mirage created by a few sensational crimes. We have the experience of other postwar periods on which to base our judgment in this regard. Also, our own trend in commitments is sharply upward. We know too that England has already had to open jails and prisons long closed, to take care of a 30 per cent increase in inmates. Recently in the space of 78 days in New York City alone 69 murders were committed.

Finally, there is a constructive suggestion regarding the relation of the federal government to the prison problems of the states:

For every felony committed against the Federal Government nearly ten major crimes are perpetrated where only the States and other local govern-

mental agencies have jurisdiction. If solid improvement in the prevention and control of crime is to be made, local law-enforcement agencies and standards must be brought more nearly to the same plane. It does not really go to fundamentals for New York or Massachusetts or California to improve the condition of its prisons, rigidly enforce its laws, or provide enlightened care for wayward youths apprehended within its borders, if its gates remain open to embittered and unreformed convicts or to the maladjusted citizens of other States which make no attempt to provide equal services.

E. A.

General Housing Act of 1945: Hearings before the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, Seventy-ninth Congress, First Session, on S. 1592. Part 1, November 27, 1945. Washington, D.C.: 1945. Pp. 182 and Appendix of charts.

These Hearings on the Wagner-Taft-Elender Housing Bill (S. 1592) "to establish a national housing policy and provide for its execution" are a useful introduction to the important questions relating to federal housing. Senator Wagner opened the hearings with a brief statement submitting the bill, but this volume is almost entirely given to the testimony of John B. Blandford, Jr., administrator of the National Housing Agency. Mr. Blandford's comprehensive statement occupies nearly 150 pages, including a valuable "Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of State Urban Redevelopment Legislation" and a tabular statement which provides a descriptive analysis (pp. 174-82) of the basic permanent housing functions being administered under the general direction of the administrator of the National Housing Agency through the three constituent units of the agency: (1) the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration; Home Owners' Loan Corporation and Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation; (2) the Federal Housing Administration; and (3) the Federal Public Housing Authority. There are some other appendixes submitted by the administrator.

Veterans' Affairs: Annual Report of the Administrator for the Year 1945. Washington, D.C., 1946. Pp. viii+142. \$0.25.

This Report consists largely of statistical tables with only 46 pages of text. Covering the fiscal year 1945, the Report covers the period before V-J Day. The brief text gives certain facts about medical treatment and domiciliary care,

including facilities available and proposed hospital and domiciliary construction; future pensions and compensation; vocational rehabilitation and education; insurance, including United States government life insurance, National Service life insurance, and civil relief; loan guaranty activities; readjustment allowances; supply activities; legal activities; appeals; and personnel.

The longest and perhaps the most interesting section deals with legal activities. There were 2,868 bills relating to veterans' benefits introduced and 17 bills passed; some of these bills, however, were still pending when the *Report* was issued. There is an interesting subsection on guardianship, with a brief statement regarding half a dozen cases on this subject in the federal courts.

The section on pensions shows that by June 30, 1945, we had paid \$739,581,650 for the year in pensions. This included small pensions still being paid for the War of 1812 and the Mexican War; \$2,261,440 for survivors (or their dependents) of the Indian Wars; \$11,873,000 for the Civil War; \$142,797,400 for the Spanish-American War; \$312,244,300 for World War I, the remainder being for World War II and the "Regular Establishments." This is of course a small amount for the very large numbers of servicemen in World War II, and the amounts

should increase greatly and rapidly. At the close of the fiscal year there were 567,934 United States government life (converted) insurance policies in force, amounting to \$2,454,855,781 insurance.

Throughout the year the Veterans' Administration expanded in all lines of activity, and increased difficulty is noted in the attempt to obtain qualified personnel in spite of unusual methods of recruiting which were adopted. Vocational rehabilitation activities expanded and led to the appointment and training of large numbers of qualified persons to fill a wide range of positions such as vocational rehabilitation officer, vocational adviser, training officer, registration officer, educational research officer, and many others. Veterans' Administration guidance centers were established at well-known colleges and universities, and vocational rehabilitation and educational personnel was assigned to field stations to attend conferences with officials of private industries for the purpose of working out training programs for veterans and to discuss placement matters. Readjustment allowance agents were assigned to the different states as well as to Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska (part time); positions of assistant readjustment allowance agent will be authorized as the readjustment allowance activities expand.

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